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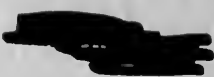
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THE ORPHAN CHILD  
AMONG THE GUNANTUNA

BY  
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## THE ORPHAN CHILD AMONG THE GUNANTUNA

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### INTRODUCTION

The present paper is the third and last of a series on the child among the Gunantu'na, a tribe of the northeastern corner of the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, Bismarek Archipelago (cf. map, Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., v. i, no. 1, p. 4). The two previous papers dealt with *Adoption among the Gunantuna* (ibid., 1929, 1-98) and *Illegitimate Birth among the Gunantuna* (ibid., v. ii, no. 1, 1938, 1-61). In the present study we shall observe the distinctions that the Gunantuna recognize as existing between the status of the motherless half-orphan, of the fatherless half-orphan, and of the full orphan. Our treatment of the problem is from this triple point of view and in the above order.

For the purpose of the present study, it is assumed that the orphan child is legitimate. Further, since childhood is the critical period when the loss of parents has the most serious consequences for the offspring, the author takes into consideration in this paper only those children who are bereft early in life of one or both parents.

In the transcription of native texts the following system is used: vowels as in Latin; italicized vowels, indistinct (*a* intermediate between *a* and *e*, *i* between *i* and *e*, *u* between *u* and *o*); inverted *e*, an almost mute *o*; consonants generally as in English, with *g* always hard as in English "get", and *ŋ* as *ng* in English "sing". For fuller details, see *Adoption among the Gunantuna*, loc. cit., pp. 1-2.

I take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to Father Otto Meyer, M.S.C., and to Father Joseph Bender, M.S.C., for their generous assistance in determining the exact sense of some of the native expressions occurring in the Gunantuna texts here recorded.

## CHAPTER I

### GUNANTUNA TERMS FOR ORPHAN

Four distinct expressions for "orphan" are used by the Gunantuna, living in the northern part of the territory occupied by this tribe, and speaking their own dialect. These expressions are applied, without a shade of difference in meaning, to a full orphan and a half-orphan. None of the expressions connotes a derogatory sense or a slur, as do the terms used to designate an illegitimate child. On the contrary the terms for "orphan" seem in their literal meaning to imply a feeling of pity toward the person thus designated.

The first Gunantuna expression for an orphan is "a liq" = someone bereft, forsaken and hence living in seclusion. Instead of "a liq" the Gunantuna also say in a more tender way "a nat na liq" = a little (or young) of orphan, or orphan child. The meaning of the noun "a liq" is indicated by the intransitive and reduplicated verb "liqliq", derived from the same root. "Liqliq" means to "live apart or by oneself, associate with very few persons, estrange oneself from society and lead a secluded life". There occurs also the factitive and transitive verb "valiliq" which has the same general sense and means to "hold back, keep back, suppress or repress something, keep something away from, spare someone a thing", and also to "abstain, refrain, restrain from, shun, avoid, omit". Other combinations are "vuq valiliq" or "kapi valiliq" which means to "put or keep something aside or apart from the rest, put by itself, lay by, store away, reserve or preserve". In "vana valiliq" or "vana valvaliliq" the qualifying verb "valiliq" (or, with reduplication, "valvaliliq") is used intransitively, and the phrase means to "go from one remote place to another and abstain from making any call in between". The meaning is similar in "vut valiliq pirai to tikai" = arrive at another's place from a certain distance without having made any intermediate visit on the road or trail.

Again, a father who does not receive many presents or enjoy many visits from his married daughter and who does not have her assistance at the feasts he holds will address the following reproach to her:

“A liḡ vuai<sup>1</sup> u. Ba iau la<sup>2</sup> pait / go ra magit,<sup>3</sup> vakari u la vut”  
 =An orphan through-and-through thou. When I ever hold / this  
 the feast, not-in-the-least thou ever come [with contributions] (That  
 is to say: “You act like an orphan having no father. Whenever I  
 hold a feast, you do not take part in it with your gifts”).

The daughter will spiritedly reply to her father (natuna i bali  
 ia = daughter his she answer him) and say:

“I na nuknuk up u ma rāva? Āve mna / u ga mal tar / agu<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The explanation given of this phrase was that the daughter “pa i nunura  
 upi tamana” = not she be aware or think of father hers (that is, she forgets  
 or neglects after she is married to visit her father and to bring him presents).  
 It is as if for her he did not exist any more or was dead. Likewise, a father  
 bidding farewell to his son as the latter departs for the homestead of relatives  
 to marry, will say: “Natugu ra liḡ ik” = son mine the orphan little (“My son,  
 you will be like an orphan to me now”). These words are not meant as a  
 reprimand, but simply refer to the fact that henceforth the son will be separated  
 from the father and thus be as an orphan.

“la” is one of the many particles preceding the verb, of which I have  
 spoken in *Adoption among the Guxantuna*, 31, note 24. It means here “the  
 repeated occurrence of the same action”, namely, of holding feasts, at which  
 the daughter fails to appear with her gifts. That is why “la” figures also  
 before the verb in the main sentence. Moreover, “la” preceding a verb, may  
 simply express that the action indicated by the verb takes place as a matter  
 of course because prescribed by custom or because inherent in the nature  
 of things.

“A magit” (noun) in its most general acceptance means “thing”; in a  
 narrower sense, “food”, and by extension, “feast”. Its synonym in all these  
 various meanings is “a tabarikik”.

“Agu” = for-me, belongs to a class of pronouns (for which we have no  
 equivalent in English, German, or French) that indicate the person or persons  
 for whose use or want or at whose address a thing is appointed, designated, or  
 intended, i.e., whether it is for me, thee, him, her, you, or them, etc. The  
 pronoun in question chiefly occurs before terms denoting food, drink or any  
 other article of consumption, as tobacco, lime, areca-nut, leaf or catkin of pep-  
 per-betel used for chewing, or before words expressing any kind of ornament  
 or clothing. It also figures before the names of weapons, to indicate the  
 person or persons who are supposed to be hurt or killed by them. This pronoun  
 is used in phrases that signify especially asking or begging for any sort of  
 thing. In short, the Guxantuna strictly distinguish this kind of pronoun from  
 the possessive proper with which we must not confuse it. The former is con-  
 structed by means of the preposition “a(i)” = for, + the personal pronoun suf-  
 fixed; the latter, by the preposition “ka(i)” = of, + the personal pronoun  
 suffixed.

Father Bernhard Bley, M.S.C., in his “Handbuch der Nordgaxellen-Sprache  
 (Neupommern), Westfälische Vereinsdruckerei, Münster i. W., 1912, p. 42,

ta ik a tabu? Iau ga kinana<sup>5</sup> na vinavana / ka kan<sup>6</sup> iu'' = I shall think / of thou with what? Where ever / thou have do-up give / for-me some little the shell-money? I have make-bare of exit / only away-from thou ('Where shall I take the gifts with which to call on you? Have you ever presented me with any shell-money where-with to buy such gifts? Entirely empty-handed I left you when I married').

Thus we see that the true reason why the daughter does not give presents to her father is that when she left home she did not receive any shell-money from him with which to purchase such presents. Hence she acts towards him like one who is orphaned of a father.<sup>7</sup>

has most fittingly pointed out the difference between these two classes of pronouns by calling one "das besitzanzeigende Fuerwort" (the possessive) and the other "das bestimmungsanzeigende Fuerwort" (the designative). The following pertinent examples will illustrate most forcefully the distinction which obtains between these two sorts of pronouns. A Gunantuna who serves another a meal of which he does not partake himself will term it "kaigu magit" = of me meal ("a meal prepared and served by me"), but the other who receives the meal will call it "agu magit" = for me a meal. Another example: a Gunantuna who carries a spear which he owns will say concerning it "kaigu rumu" = of me spear, but the victim whom that warrior intends to stab with the spear will call it "agu rumu" = for me spear. Again, a Gunantuna will say "kaigu tabu" = of me shell-money, when he speaks of some shell-money which he already possesses and claims as his property, but he will use the phrase "agu tabu" = for me shell-money, occurring in our text, when he speaks of some shell-money which he receives or expects to receive as a present from another. The phrase "agu tabu" also means "the shell-money which I am storing up and which will be distributed for me after my death".

<sup>5</sup> Here an adjective, followed by a substantive, is construed as a verb by simply suppressing the article before the adjective. It is an idiomatic mode of construction difficult to translate into our language.

<sup>6</sup> "kan" when preceding a sentence or clause, is a conjunction and means "in order that . . . not", but when following a verb and preceding a noun or a pronoun, as in our text, it is a preposition and means "away from" and also "because of". In this sense "kan" is sometimes shortened to "ka".

<sup>7</sup> As the text implies, a daughter expects a small present of shell-money from her father at the time of her marriage when she goes to her husband's home. Since the father receives part of the sum with which his girl is purchased in marriage, it is but fair that he should give her one or two fathoms of shell-money from his share. The girl expects such a present, the more so because she does not otherwise inherit anything from her father nor is she provided for by him. For her father to expect her to use for presents to him at feasts her own petty money which she might earn occasionally would be in her eyes the height of impudence on his part. If he has failed to give her any shell-money

The above examples explain in a general way what the Gunantuna understand by the noun "a liq" which they use to denote an orphan. An orphan is to them a child bereft of his parents and hence destined to lead a solitary life because he has no parents to whom he can cling and who, in their turn, would both cling to him and take care of him.

A second expression for an orphaned child is "a nat na qur" = a little (or young) of orphan, or an orphan child. The author could not obtain any texts to determine the exact meaning of the word "a qur" occurring in that phrase but was told that its sense is identical with that of "a liq", explained above.

A third term for orphan is "mat kan" = one from whom someone else has died away, or one bereft or orphaned, that is, a child that has lost its father or mother or both by death. This term seems to connote the sorrow felt for an orphan or half-orphan.

at her marriage, she will invariably pay him back in his own coin. As a result an estrangement takes place between her and her father, and she ignores him or acts towards him as if he had departed this life and she were orphaned. The text refers to such an instance. The father did not make any present of shell-money to his daughter when she married and yet he complained that she completely neglected him. Moreover, if the daughter is married to a man of some means, he will join with her in the feasts that her father holds. Yet for the vegetables and the meat the son-in-law contributes, the father-in-law must pay in money or return in kind on the occasion of a feast the son-in-law himself celebrates. In other words, the father-in-law does not receive any gifts from his son-in-law, but deals with him on a strictly business basis.

I have already mentioned in *Adoption among the Gunantuna*, pp. 15-16, a deeper reason for the above point of view, namely, that, on account of the purchase-money paid to the wife's relatives and meant as a compensation for her subsequent labors in behalf of her husband, there exists no community of goods between husband and wife. Hence the wife cannot claim as her own anything from the share her husband furnishes for a feast held by her father, nor offer it to her father as a present. The exclusive owner of these goods is her husband. This also explains why the wife cannot take any vegetables, fruits, etc., belonging to her husband without the latter's permission and make a gift of them to her father, altho she has helped in raising these products. The above text clearly supposes such an economical arrangement and would be meaningless without this assumption. For if the wife could make presents to her father from out of her husband's goods and chattels, as she pleased, no Gunantuna father would ever have any reason to complain about his married daughter's negligence in making him presents. Finally, this text confirms the statement made by me in my paper on *Adoption* (pp. 9-15), that an ordinary Gunantuna woman owns very little and, above all, has little shell-money at her disposal.

A fourth Gunantuna expression used to denote an orphan is "a bul na rāra"<sup>8</sup> == a child faulty, erring, or abnormal, or a child amiss, *av.*, that is, a child that deviates from the normal child that has or of both its parents living. Thus the Gunantuna call him "an erratic child".<sup>9</sup> However, this term is applied by them with prefer-

<sup>8</sup> "rāra" (intransitive verb) meaning to "fail, err, be mistaken, get lost, go astray"; here used either adjectivally, for "faulty, false, defective, wrong, erring, erratic, abnormal", or adverbially for "amiss, astray, falsely, wrongly, abnormally". Similarly construed is the other phrase "a bul na vakak" which means "a child one fondles" or "a darling, a favorite, a pet". In this phrase, too, the last element is a verb, namely, "vakak" (trans.) = fondle, pet, which is connected with the noun "a bul" = a child by the particle "na". This mode of construction is idiomatic in Gunantuna and occurs chiefly in these two phrases.

<sup>9</sup> "a bul na rāra", in a more general sense "a child who does not reach at birth the normal standard", for instance, by being badly deformed or a cripple or by being extremely tiny and underweight. Such children were usually done away with because, according to the common conviction, they could not live anyway, or were not considered worth being reared. In a rare case a mother might have taken pity on such a child and tried to rear it. This might be perhaps the case with a newborn babe who was extraordinarily frail, but otherwise all right; less probably with a babe who had some ugly defect. If the mother succeeded in rearing such a frail child which she had been urged to cast aside when it was born, she gave the child the spite-name of "To Vuē" in case it was a boy, and that of "Ia Vuē" in case it was a girl. In either instance the name meant "someone who was supposed to be thrown away at birth", especially because of being too tiny. For the last element in the name "To Vuē" or "Ia Vuē" is taken from the transitive verb "vue" which means to "throw or cast away". By conferring this name on her child which she was able to rear contrary to all expectations the mother mocked at those who had advised her to make away with the child because in their estimation it was doomed. I was given the above information when I inquired into the meaning of the personal name "To Vuē". Here it is as I was told:

To Vuē: Di kavā, a ikilik tuna. Pa i varogop / ma ra umana bul, di kava diat. Di vatap ia a bul / na rāra. Ma di bitī / ba da vuē / tago a kaina ik. Nāna i māri ia / ma i vavum vovo pa ia. Ma i tar kapi / go ra iapina. Ma namur dia kaien tana / ma dia bitī: "Ave ga bitī / ba pa na boina / go ra bul / tago a kaina amāna. Ave ga bitī / ba na mat".

Mr. One-should-have-thrown-away-him. One bear-him, a tiny very. Not he similar / and the some child, one bear them. One call him a child / abnormal. And one say / that one-shall cast-aside-him / because an awfully little. Mother-his she pity him / and she feed, press, save him. And she give put-on / this the name-his. And later they wonder at-him / and they say: "We-others have think / that not he-will be-all-right / this the boy / because a miserable formerly. We-others have think / that he-will die".

Free translation: "To Vuē (Mr. Who-should-have-been-thrown-aside-at-birth) was a very tiny baby when he came into this world. He was in weight

ence to an orphan who has lost his mother right at birth, because here the abnormality is still more striking.<sup>10</sup> In any event sympathy for the child seems implied in this term.

The above four expressions for orphan are used indiscriminately by the Gunantuna living in the northern section of the territory inhabited by the tribe. However, most frequently used are "a liq" or "a nat na liq" and "a nat na gur". But the other expressions for "orphan" which Father Klentitschen mentions in his *Collection of Myths* (Anthropos-Bibliothek, v. 2, no. 4, pp. 202, 387) as used in

far below other children when they are born. He was therefore called an abnormal child. All those who saw him advised his mother to get rid of him because he was only a little bit of a thing. But she had pity on him and fed him with great devotion and care so as to pull him through. She gave him the said name. Later those who had advised her to the contrary were surprised to see the child had grown so well and they said: 'We others thought that this boy would never turn out all right because he was so extremely frail at birth. We were convinced that he would die'.

The expression "cast aside a child", in the above text, means "do away with it in an indirect manner", for instance, by carrying it out into the woods and depositing it there, or by burying it alive in the hut. Here again a direct murder of such a child is excluded by the very terminology used. This constitutes further evidence of the distinction made between direct and indirect killing in the second paper of this series (*Illegitimate Birth*, loc. cit., 378s).

<sup>10</sup> Many Gunantuna women die at childbirth or in consequence of it. Father J. Bender informs me that within a period of fifteen years he recorded thirty-five such cases in his district which has a population of about one thousand souls. That would mean an average of more than two cases a year. I had similar experiences myself and we can safely conclude that the same conditions prevail throughout the whole territory inhabited by the Gunantuna. The high percentage must be chiefly attributed to the inexperience of the Gunantuna midwives in obstetrics. They know how to handle a normal case of confinement, but are at a complete loss or absolutely helpless as soon as a complication arises. In the latter instances the unfortunate mother nearly always dies. Then too, at least in former times, some girls married very young, when not yet physically strong enough to stand the strain of childbearing, and so lost their lives at their first confinement. Young women were fully aware of that danger and hence often resorted to abortion to save their lives. The Gunantuna have two expressions for a woman dying at childbirth: "la An i kakava tādoko" = Mrs. N. she be confined get killed; "la An i kakava mat" = Mrs. N. she be confined die. On the other hand, when the mother herself survives confinement, but brings forth a still-born child, the Gunantuna will say: "la An i kakava na i ti mat ra bul arima ra bakana" = Mrs. N. she be delivered and it already dead the child in the womb hers. Finally, when the child is alive at birth but dies soon after, they say: "la An i kakava na i mat ra bul" = Mrs. N. she be confined, but it die the child.

the southern part of the Gunantuna territory, to wit, "a nat na mumum" or simply "a mumum" are peculiar to the dialect spoken there, and are offensive to the ears of the northerners, whose almost identical phrase "a nat na mum" has a highly derogatory sense and means "a child that has come out of its mother's rectum" (cf. *Illegitimate Birth*, p. 54, note 65). A similar insult is to say to someone "a mum u" = an anus thou.

The following texts illustrate the terms enumerated above "a lij" being used in the first one for "full orphan". If an orphan child who has lost both his parents, is questioned about his father and mother, as can be done without violating the tribal code of politeness, he will answer quite frankly, because, unlike the case of an illegitimate child, no shame is involved. The question may be formulated in the following manner:

"Ba u tamam To Ia?" = Say thou father-thine Mr. Who? ("Say, who is your father?").

The answer will be:

"Iau pa iau / ga nukare tamagu. I ga mat tamagu, iau a luja<sup>11</sup> ka boko. Pa iau ga gire / ta ik tai tamagu. Iau ga tia ŋala / namur tana. Ma gāki bula dia ga varve / au<sup>12</sup> ka tana. Pa iau ga nukure / tamagu ma gāki. Dir ga mat kan iau. Iau kaka a lij. Pa iau ga nukure / tamagu ma gāki, dir ga mat. Ma iau ŋala / mua namur tadir".

"I not I / have know father-mine. He gave die father-mine, I a child-without-reason only yet. Not I have see-so-as-to-remember / some little about father-mine. I have do grow-up / later to-him. And mother(mine) too they have tell / I only of-her. Not I have know / father-mine and mother(mine). Both have die away-from I. I only an orphan. Not I have know / father-mine and mother (mine), both have die. And I be-grow-up / altogether later to-both".

Free translation: "I did not know my father at all. He died when I was still without the use of reason. I was not aware of anything

<sup>11</sup> "a luja" (noun) = primarily "a brute animal destitute of reason"; also "a child who has not yet attained the age of reason". To call such a child "a luja", that is, "a non-rational being" is not an insult to the child or its parents. But so to call an adult is an affront and is keenly resented by the addressee.

<sup>12</sup> "au" (pronoun) = a shortened form for "iau" = I. When "iau" is preceded by the vowel "e", initial "i" is elided or blended with the preceding "e".

regarding my father and have not the faintest notion of him. I grew up after his death. About my mother I learned only by hearsay. In short, I did not know either my father or my mother. Both are dead. I am a mere orphan. I did not even know when my father and my mother died. I arrived at the age of knowing only after their death''.

In the following text, ''a nat liq'' is used for ''half-orphan''. Some one questions a half-orphan about his father:

''U tamam akave?'' = Thou father-thine where? (''Who is your father?'').

The boy or girl will answer:

''Iau a nat na liq. Pa iau ga nunure / na tamagu. Tamagu i ga tar mat / ma iau ga matoto namur. Gāki i ga varve / au ka tai tamagu''.

''I a young of orphan. Not I have know / that father-mine. Father-mine he have already die / and I have become-reasonable later. Mother(mine) she have tell / I only of father-mine''.

Free translation: ''I am an orphan child I did not know my father. He had already died when I arrived at the age of knowing. I learned about my father only from my mother''.

A third possibility is this. Someone asks another about the mother of a child:

''Akave nā i go?'' = Where mother of this? (''Who is this child's mother?'').

If the child in question is bereft of its mother, the answer might be:

''Ba nāna i ga tar mat / ma a nat na ŋur / uka mua go, pa ta nāna'' = Well mother-its she have already die / and a young of orphan / only altogether this, not some mother-its. (''The child has lost its mother and is but an orphan without a mother''). In this text ''nat na ŋur'' is used to denote a ''half-orphan''.

If the mother of the child happened to die in childbirth the answer will be:

''Nāna i ga kakava mat mē, i ga tar / bul na rāra''<sup>13</sup> = Mother-its she have be-confined die with it, it have already / be-child-abnormal-at-birth (''This child lost its mother when it was born and is an

<sup>13</sup> Here we have an example of a substantive which is followed by a qualifying phrase and construed as a verb by simply omitting the article before the substantive. Cf. *supra*, footnote 5.

orphan since the day of its birth"). Here "a bul na rāra" designates "an orphan".

A last text, in which the phrase "a mat kan" figures as an expression for "an orphan" is this: "A vavina, kana tutana i tar mat, a āvua ma natuna a mat kan" = A woman, her husband he already die, a widow and child-hers a died away-from ("A woman who has lost her husband by death is called a widow and her child an orphan").

## CHAPTER II

### THE LEGAL STATUS OF A MOTHERLESS HALF-ORPHAN

The Gumantuna consider that the first and foremost claim to a child bereft of its mother by death, belongs not to the child's father, but to the relatives of the deceased woman. Therefore the deceased woman's kin have a corresponding duty to rear the half-orphan and to provide for its future. Such legal maxims are the result of Gumantuna matrilineal descent of moiety. Among her relatives her brother has prior claim since he is her nearest male kin, and then her other near relatives.

Under normal circumstances, that is as long as both parents are alive, the tribe respects the rights of the parents to their child, and the family will not be separated. The child will remain under the joint care of its parents with the mother fulfilling the greater part of the task of caring for it. The maternal uncle, respecting this recognized right of the parents, will not interfere. Indeed, the respect with which the maternal uncle regards the parents' rights in caring for their offspring during childhood is so great that he will even refrain from claiming his nephew or niece for burial if he or she should die in childhood or at a youthful age. In such cases the deceased child is interred in its father's homestead where it died, rather than in the homestead of the maternal uncle as would be the case if it had grown up. Ordinarily, the control over his nephews and nieces which the system of matrilineal descent grants to the maternal uncle does not become effective until the children have reached the age of puberty or even later. Until such time the children remain in the exclusive care of their parents.

The situation is altered, however, when a mother dies and leaves a baby or young child. Immediately the maternal uncle and other close kin of the deceased woman assert their right to her child. The father can do nothing but acquiesce. This is clearly illustrated in the following text:

A umana niur <sup>14</sup> i go ra bul / diat a mări <sup>15</sup> ia / ma diat a kap ia. Dia varavararanē, upi na ki pirādiat. Dia anān <sup>16</sup> pa ia, upi diat a vaṇalā. A umana mări / nam ra umana bul.

The some kin of this the child / they will love-out-of-pity it / and they will fetch it. They wrangle about it, so-that it-will stay with-them. They long for it, so-that they might rear-it. The some lovable / that the some child.

In other words the maternal kin will cherish much love and sympathy for such a child and come promptly to claim it from its father. An animated dispute will then arise among the relatives as to whom the child shall be finally allotted. Each one wants to rear it because such orphaned children are very dear to their surviving blood kin.

The relatives of the deceased woman claim her corpse and the right to bury it in their homestead, just as they also claim the orphan child, the claim of the deceased woman's brother being recognized first. Ordinarily the husband of the deceased woman and the father of the child, has nothing to say in either of these two matters. Only in rare cases has a husband been known to bury his wife on his own property. If the woman had no close relatives he would of course bury her, or if it so happened that she had been very dear to him he might inter her remains on his own land.

In asserting their claim to the orphan child the deceased woman's relatives will be guided by the judgment of the maternal uncle. It is he who will decide the child's future and determine who shall rear it. If the child is a boy it will be provided for by and will inherit

<sup>14</sup> In its strict sense "a umana niur i go ra bul" denotes "the close kin of the child by its mother's side or its cognates". In a broader sense it denotes "persons who belong to the same moiety as the child".

<sup>15</sup> "mări" (trans. verb) = properly to "have pity or mercy on", and also to "love out of a feeling of pity". The adjective "a mări" which also occurs in the text is derived from the same root as the verb "mări" and has the same double sense, i.e., first, "pitiable" and then, "lovable". These two terms give evidence that among the Gunantuna orphans generally meet with sympathy or compassion, especially on the part of their close maternal kin, male as well as female.

<sup>16</sup> "anān" (intransitive verb) from the same root as "An" in the indefinite name "To An" = Mr. N., "Ia An" = Miss or Mrs. N., and "Vuna An" = Place N. Its meaning is somewhat vague. In the text it must be rendered by "long for" or "strive for".

from the maternal uncle. If it is a girl-child the father will not receive what is usually the father's share of the purchase money given when the girl is sought in marriage, since he did not help to rear her. Although the father has little or nothing to say regarding the disposition of his child who has been claimed, on its mother's death, by the maternal relatives, he may still take a lively interest in the child who is not prohibited from visiting him occasionally. But it is to be expected that the father's chief interest will be his own nephews and nieces by his sister's side.

Under certain circumstances, a child orphaned of its mother will remain either permanently or temporarily under the father's control. The child will remain *permanently* with the father if the deceased woman had no close maternal kin. In such a case the father has not only the right but the duty to rear the child and to provide for it, even though the child can never belong to its father's moiety.

The child may remain with the father *temporarily* if the latter refuses to give the child to its maternal relatives on the plea that it is only in its early years. A father will sometimes take this stand, particularly if the child is a boy. In such a case the immediate reaction of the maternal relatives will be to object. But if the father is determined to keep the child they will eventually yield their claim, since, as we have stated above, the Gunantuna do admit a parent's right to his child during the early years of its life. But the maternal relatives have yielded their claim only temporarily, for there is an understanding that the child will be given to them when it has attained maturity.

The following text refers to an instance in which the father refuses to part with his infant boy whom the maternal kin have claimed on the death of the child's mother. The text is especially interesting since it shows that the father, although he insists on his right to rear the boy, admits the principle of uterine descent.

Ari a tara na niuruna / dia tata up ia, ma tamana i biti: "Ba a gapugu<sup>17</sup> nam; nāna i ga tia u pa ia tagu".

<sup>17</sup> The father by calling his boy "a gapugu" = the blood mine, simply asserts that "he has begotten him by seed". The term expresses the function of the father in the conception of children. He procreates them by "his sperm" which the Gunantuna call here "his blood". The text also gives the rôle of the mother in whose womb the child is conceived through coitus, who gives it birth and nurses it at her breast. This rôle of the mother is summed up in the term "u pa" = suckle or give suck, and is more important in the eyes of

When the folk of maternal-kin-his (that is, of his son) / they clamor for him, and father-his he say: "Well the blood-mine that; mother-his she have do nurse him owing-to-me".

Only a very free translation or paraphrase of the above can give the full meaning: "When the maternal kin demand the delivering over of the infant boy who has lost his mother by death, the father who wishes to care for the boy himself, will say: 'I have begotten that boy. He is my flesh and blood (or more correctly, my seed). It is due to me that his mother has brought him forth after developing him in her womb, and has nursed him, as long as she was alive, at her breast. Without me (and of course his mother) that boy would not exist at all. Hence, I am claiming him to rear because next to his mother I am the author of his life'".

Thus against the claim of the maternal kin who demand the infant boy because born of their female moiety-member, the father justifies his right to rear the boy on the part which he played in procreating the child. This part is second only to that of the mother in gestation, delivery and lactation. This greater rôle which the mother plays in propagating the race is indicated by the expression "u pa" = give suck, and is fully acknowledged by the tribe.

But the father's declaration cited above, in no way contests the fundamental right which the maternal kin have to claim the child after he has attained maturity. The father recognizes that the boy belongs by his very birth to his mother's moiety and even the term "a gapugu" = blood mine, which he used to stress the close relationship existing between father and son, does not imply any desire to change the moiety affiliation of the boy. For the Gunantuna do not express moiety affiliation by the term "blood" (although the two moieties are equivalent to two different strains of blood), but by such terms as "stock, countenance, bone, etc." In brief the word "a gapugu" does not mean "blood" in the sense we understand it, but rather "sperm" or "semen".

the Gunantuna than the rôle of the father because the former extends over a longer period of time than the latter which is transitory in character. The term "a gapugu" is strictly limited to the part which the father plays in the conception of children and refers more properly to "the semen". Moreover, the father uses that term preferably or even exclusively with reference to his male child. I have no record of a father referring to his daughter by the term "a gapugu". A mother will never call her child by this term.

A still further proof that the father in the instance related does not claim his son for his own moiety, is that he will not prevent the boy from going to his maternal kin when he has completed his years of childhood. In this particular case the father is faced with the difficulty that the maternal kin are urging their claim and wish to take the boy even though he is still an infant. While admitting that the boy belongs to their moiety the father contests the maternal kin's right to rear the boy and reminds them that after the death of his wife he hold the first title to the boy. He tells them that it was his act, not theirs, that brought the boy into existence. This argument silences all objections on the part of the boy's maternal kin because, as I have noted above, they admit the justice of his claim. They know, moreover, that the father's declaration means only that he wishes to care for the boy during childhood and is not claiming him permanently.

In the course of such an argument the father, if he is a man of means, will add weight to his claim by handing over to his son's maternal kin a certain amount of shell money which was set aside for the boy on the very day of his birth. When he gives them this money he will say: "Kana tabu go" = Of him shell-money this.

This means that the sum in question is not a present made to his son, still less to the latter's relatives, but simply a sum that was put aside for the boy at his birth and which is to be turned over to him when he is grown. That is why the father uses the possessive and not the designative pronoun. The maternal kin are thus entrusted with the money as a token of the father's ultimate recognition of this claim but they are not allowed to spend it for any purpose whatsoever.

When the father has successfully completed the above negotiations with the kin of his deceased wife, and has won their consent to keep the child temporarily, he will then look for someone to care for his boy. The author has been told of two courses which the father may follow in selecting a suitable woman to care for his child.

First, the father may select a woman of his own moiety,—his mother, if she is still alive. In such a case we have the abnormality, strictly avoided in the institution of adoption, of a woman belonging to one moiety rearing a child belonging to the opposite moiety. However, when there is a case of a child suddenly bereft of its mother a decision has to be made promptly in order to provide care for the orphan. And it may so happen that persons of the child's moiety are not available. In such a case the abnormality of a person of

one moiety caring for the child of another moiety is unavoidable and tolerated only on the grounds that the arrangement is not permanent. The following text describes such a course that the widower father may follow. The text contains the term "a bul" = a child, and I am rendering it in that sense, although, as I have explained, we must chiefly understand "a boy" by that term:

Nina tamana pa i oŋo<sup>18</sup> tar / nam ra bul ta ra umana niuruna,  
nina ra vavina, nā i tamana, io, nam ra vavina na balaure.

That father-its not he yield give / that the child to the some maternal-kin-its, that the woman, mother of father-its, well, that the woman will take-care-of-it.

In other words, when the widower refuses to give his child to its maternal kin, he will get his own mother to care for the child. The grandmother (whom we assume not to be an old woman or a widow, in which case she usually stays with her son) lives with her husband in another settlement. She will carry her grandchild away with her or another woman will bring the child to her (ta tika na vavina na kap ia = some one woman will carry it.) I have been told that the father himself might take the child to its paternal grandmother (tumu tamana pa na oŋo mē, ia iat na kap<sup>19</sup> ia pirai nāna = in case father its not will allow another to carry it, he himself will bring it it to mother his).

Besides "balaure" (transitive verb) = take care of, occurring in the above text, the grandmother is also said to "vau pa" = nurse with her breast, or "vamum pa" = feed, or "vavala" = rear, this child. Here the Gunantuna use certain expressions which I have explained in my study of *Adoption among the Gunantuna*. The reason is that there exists a certain similarity between an adoptive child

<sup>18</sup> "oŋo" (intransitive verb) = "yield to, accede to, assent to, grant, tolerate, suffer, permit, accept", and then, "listen to, obey". The exact sense of this verb always depends on the qualifying word which accompanies it as "tar" = give, "pa" = the effective particle or the preposition "tai" = to and "ma" = with.

<sup>19</sup> Among the Gunantuna it is unusual for a man to carry a babe. If he does so in an exceptional case as is related here, he carries the babe lying on both his arms which he holds against his chest. This manner of conveying a babe is called "kap" (trans.), "puak" (trans.), "rarat" (trans.), or "rite" (trans.). But a man never carries a baby in a tapa or an imported cloth as is the customary way for a woman to carry small children. When a child is somewhat older a man will carry it riding on his shoulder or on the back of his neck, but never riding on his hip as the women carry small children.

and an orphan bereft of his mother and reared by another woman. But a motherless half-orphan will not be called an "adoptive child". The adoptive child does not leave those who have adopted it, whereas an orphan, such as referred to above, leaves his father and goes to his maternal kin when he is grown up.

The motherless half-orphan calls its paternal grandmother with whom it stays, and also her husband, "tubugu." "Tubu . . .," with the personal pronoun suffixed, means simply "grandparent". It is also used reciprocally for "grandchild".<sup>20</sup>

The grandmother will take advantage of the first opportunity when the orphan becomes old enough to understand to explain to him that he belongs to the moiety opposite to her own, for it is one of the Gunantuna first educational principles to instruct the children concerning their moiety-affiliation and their blood kin,—this in view of the fact that the whole scheme of their tribal life is based upon matrilineal descent and a recognition of the two moieties. Such an opportunity for enlightenment may come when he may happen to address her, not as "tubugu", but as "turuaigu", the latter expression denoting in its proper sense "a person related to one by the mother's side" and in a wider sense "a person of one's own moiety, either male or female", a double meaning which the word "niurugu" also has. The grandmother will then say to the orphan: "Turuaim lia? U keabula ta ra enana, ma ian keabula ta ra tikai" = Maternal-kin-thine Who? Thou in-turn some the different, and I in-turn some the one ("Who is your maternal kin? You address me as such, but I am not. You, for your part, belong to one moiety, and I, for my part, hail from the other. We have nothing in common in that regard").

The Gunantuna term such a discrimination or repudiation of another as one's moiety-member "a varpilakai".<sup>21</sup> Under other cir-

<sup>20</sup> "Tubu . . ." denotes also the reciprocal relationship between maternal grandparents and grandchildren.

<sup>21</sup> A noun derived from the transitive verb "pilake" = "judge, weigh, scrutinize, discern, distinguish, mark, discriminate, differentiate, part, separate, select or choose"; and then, "repudiate, disclaim, exclude, debar, expel", especially when followed by the qualifying verb "vue" = reject, or by the preposition "kan" = away from. The following example illustrates this sense of the verb "pilake".

A Gunantuna who meets strangers, i.e., persons not belonging to his moiety, in his field and who does not see that they have any legitimate reason for being there, will say in an angry tone: "Avat a umana enana. Kōko avat a vana

circumstances such a repudiation would be considered a severe rebuke or, as the Gunantuna say, "a varvul". It is proffered when the addressee has done something that is allowed only among moiety-members and is meant to impress the offending individual with the impropriety of his action. Such a repudiation also occurs in quarrels and litigations. The above discrimination by the paternal grandmother is not however meant as a rebuke but as information. Naturally, the news is unpleasant to the orphan who knows now from his grandmother's remark that, kind as she might be to him, she is not his real kinswoman and does not have for him the same regard as she would for one of her own moiety. He knows now that his true kindred belong to the other moiety and he will be eager to go to his maternal relatives.

The second course which the widower may follow is to let his married brother and his sister-in-law rear the child for him. Such an arrangement is considered most appropriate, for the child is then confided to a woman of its own moiety, although she may not be a close relative of the child's mother. Moreover, in the Gunantuna classificatory system of relationship, such a woman is called "the mother" of the child in question, since the Gunantuna regard the wives of two brothers as "sisters" who "mother" their children in common. Furthermore, the brother of the child's father is termed, not "its paternal uncle", but "its other father", since, according to the same classificatory system, two brothers "father" their offspring in common.

The father will not hesitate to confide the child to his brother and sister-in-law for he feels certain that they will deal as kindly with the child as would its own father and mother. But here again there is no question of the child being "adopted" by its paternal uncle and his wife. The child will also be informed, at the proper time, of its true moiety-affiliation and will later return to its maternal kin.

If the paternal uncle and his wife have children of their own, their children will be "first cousins" of the orphan, just as in our system

ta kaigu ūma" = You (plural) the some different. Absolutely not you shall enter my field! He so reminds the strangers that they are not his moiety-members, "i pilake vue diat" = he repudiate them. The strangers realize that they must leave immediately for the owner has expelled them by these words, "i pilake diat kan kana ūma" = he discriminate them away from his field, that is, "he orders them out of his field" or "he tells them to leave", because they are not his moiety-members and consequently are not his friends.

of relationship. But among the Gunantuna parallel "first cousins" whose fathers are brothers are likened to and called "brothers and sisters", though usually with the appellative "kava" added, whereas parallel "first cousins" from mothers who are sisters are simply termed "brothers and sisters". In either case, parallel first cousins are fundamentally denoted by the terms "brother and sister" used in the classificatory sense.

The following text illustrates the regard which the father's brother and his sister-in-law have for the child to whom they are "other father and mother": *Nina, dir turana ma tamana, i kure*<sup>22</sup> *nam ra bul / tago i marmāri ia* = That, both be-brother and father-its, he take-care-of that the child / because he love-out-of-compassion it.

It is plain from the above that the paternal kin (not merely the maternal kin) have compassion on a child bereft of its mother. The Gunantuna system of kinship surrounds the child with more than one "father" and more than one "mother", each of them ready to care for it in case of emergency. In caring for the orphan child the father's brother, or "other father" does not expect any remuneration for his service any more than does the father's mother if she should rear her son's orphan.<sup>23</sup> If such a motherless half-orphan be a girl, her paternal kinswoman who rears her will receive a small remuneration from the girl's maternal kin when the girl is sought in marriage, and the girl's father will receive his customary share of the bride-price since he has supervised her rearing and has regularly provided food for her.

In the present study we need not consider the expediency of the widower-father hastily remarrying in order to provide a stepmother for his half-orphan. Such a procedure is entirely unknown to the Gunantuna. While the father may marry again he will not do so in a hurry and never for the reason of having someone to care for his child. In fact when he remarries he does not bring his child back to the paternal homestead but lets it remain with the persons to whom it has been entrusted, because, in any event, the child must go to its maternal kin in a few years. Hence, among the Gunantuna

<sup>22</sup> "kure" (trans. verb) = "take care of, rule, govern, control, be lord or master of, have at one's disposal", and then, to "decide, judge", and so on.

<sup>23</sup> I know of no instance in which a Gunantuna widower has entrusted his young child for rearing to his married sister and her husband. This apparently does not occur.

we do not hear of cases where children suffer from the indifference or cruelty of stepmothers.

The Gunantuna express as follows the rule that an orphan child, not delivered up at once on the mother's death to her kin, must go to them when it has reached a certain age, usually the age of puberty: Tumū na ŋala, na tadap ra umana niuruna = When it will be-big, it-will join the some maternal-kin-its. ("When the child is grown up it goes to its maternal relatives and remains with them permanently")<sup>24</sup>

Although the death of one or both parents may be a reason for adoption of a child, the Gunantuna only rarely dispose of an orphan child in that way. The following text refers to a case of adoption of a motherless half-orphan. My informant, To Kakao, related the story to me in the following words:

I mat nā / i nam ra bul, ma To Kinkin,<sup>25</sup> dir taulai, dir maiŋe nam ra bul / ma dir<sup>26</sup> puak pa ia. I vamum pa ia. Ari i taŋi, ma i tar

<sup>24</sup> The following corroborative text on a motherless half-orphan so reared has been sent to me by Father Bender: "Di vamum pa ia / upi na ŋala / ma di tul tar mulē: di vaŋala ka tar ia" = One feed it / so-that it-might grow-up / and one send give back-it: one rear only give it ("the paternal relatives rear such a child and when it is grown up they turn it over to the maternal kin for whom they simply brought it up"). Father Bender adds that in his district such a motherless orphan is called "a vamum pa" = an orphan. In other countriesides this term is used for "an adoptive child".

<sup>25</sup> To Kinkin was "a luluai" = a rich man, who lived in the countryside of Raluana. He had an appointment from the German Government as the native judge of that district and, at the time of my residence there, was one of the most Europeanized natives in the whole Bismarek Archipelago. He owned a horse and buggy and lived in a house modeled on the mansions of the white colonists. The fact that he so readily used condensed milk to feed his adopted child shows that he had "advanced" ideas. His modern ways were much talked about by the Gunantuna.

<sup>26</sup> The use of the dual "dir" = they two or both, is idiomatic. In reality only To Kinkin's wife carried the baby but it is customary for the Gunantuna to attribute also to the husband an action which his wife performs, especially when he is in her company. The same is true of actions performed by the husband; these are also attributed to the wife. The Gunantuna express both actions and speech of a married man or woman by the dual number. The reason for this linguistic usage is that husband and wife are considered a unit on account of the conjugal tie uniting them. The dual "dir" = they two or both, is also used concerning mother and child, father and child, brother and brother, sister and sister, for a very similar reason. This use of the dual is illustrated as follows:

vatukue tar / nam ra u <sup>27</sup> na bulmakau.<sup>28</sup> ma i u ia / ma i kodom tana.

If a mother, carrying her babe in a tapa-cloth, goes to the well and gets drinking water, everybody will say, "dir nāna kulupa" = both, mother and child, get drinking water, although of course the little child fetches none. If the mother take a drink of water, it will again be said, "dir nāna momo" = both, mother and child, drink. If a father is working in the field and his little boy is playing somewhere near him, the passers-by will ask the father: "Amur tamana papalum?" = You both, father and son, work?

Two brothers, each having his own estate, shell-money, and family will nevertheless speak as if they owned everything in common, even their children. They make one notable exception however, namely they never refer to their wives as if they were their common property. Each one calls the other's wife "sister-in-law". Two brothers refer to each other's offspring: "Amir ga kava vuē" = We two others have beget forth it. Likewise is said of two sisters that they each have given birth to the children of the other or have brought forth in common: "Dir ga kavā" = Both have bear it. The Gumantuma classificatory system of relationship centers around the two fundamental conceptions that brothers "father" their offspring in common, and sisters "mother" their progeny conjointly. And if brothers are said to "beget" one another's children, they are logically called "fathers" of those children, and not "paternal uncles". Consequently the children of brothers cannot term themselves "first cousins", but only "brothers and sisters" in the classificatory meaning. And if sisters are said "to bring forth" each other's children they must be called "mothers" of these children, and not "maternal aunts". The children of sisters cannot then term themselves "first cousins" but "brothers and sisters" in the classificatory meaning. It must be emphasized, however, that notwithstanding this terminology, brothers do not in any sense share their wives in common, or sisters their husbands. There is no question whatever of promiscuous sexual intercourse between brothers and their wives and between sisters and their husbands in the Gumantuma tribe. The use of the dual number merely denotes group solidarity or the close union of certain relationships.

<sup>27</sup> "a u . . ." (noun), with the personal pronoun suffixed, means first, "the female breast of . . ." and, secondly, "the male genitals of . . .", because the Gumantuma see some similarity between the scrotum and the virga on the one hand and the female breast and its nipple on the other. Without the personal pronoun added "a u" means "the product of the female breast, or the milk". In that acceptance "a u" is also used to denote the milk of any female mammal, for instance, a cow, as in the case cited above. Again, the noun "u" might be preceded by the pronoun and thus indicate the person or persons for whose use the milk of the female breast is intended. Such is the case in the phrase "agu u" = for me female breast, or my mother, because the mother nurses the child at her breast. The expression also means "for me milk, or my milk", for example, the condensed milk I am drinking. Finally, as the text shows, "u" occurs as a transitive verb and must then be rendered by "suck, imbibe, inhale".

<sup>28</sup> "a bulmakau" (noun) is a hybrid neologism: "a bul" = a child, the connective particle "ma", meant to facilitate the pronunciation, and the

"She die mother / of that the child, and Mr. Kinkin, he-and-she husband-and-wife, both like that the child / and both carry it. He adopt it. When it cry, and he already put-in-the-mouth give / that the milk of cow, and it suck it and it become-quiet by-it".

A mother had died leaving an infant child. To Kinkin and his wife assisted at the funeral. When they saw the child they took a liking to it and wished to adopt it. When To Kinkin had settled

English word "cow", and literally means "the offspring of cow". This neologism was coined by the Gunantuna after cattle (formerly of course unknown to them) had been introduced into the island by the white colonists. The expression denotes the bovine race in general, that is, a cow, a bull, or an ox. To distinguish the sex of the animal the Gunantuna add to the general term "tutana" or "vavina" and say: "a bulmakau tutana" = a bovine animal male, or "a bulmakau vavina" = a bovine animal female.

A similar neologism is "a bulmaot" = the offspring of a horse, or simply a horse. The last element of that phrase is but a corrupted form of the English word "horse", for the Gunantuna find it difficult to pronounce a word containing the h or the s sound as their two main dialects contains neither of these sounds. Thus the initial "h" was dropped, and the final "s" changed to "t" because this sound comes nearest to the "s" in their pronunciation. Moreover, they suppressed the "r" before "t" since the consonantal cluster "rt" is unfamiliar to them.

As horses were an importation brought to the island by the white colonists the Gunantuna found these animals as strange as cattle and likened both horses and cattle to the biggest domesticated animals they knew of, the pig. Thus, at first, they called them: "a umana ŋaka na boroi" = the some big of hog.

While only a few colonists kept cattle, horses were in general use among them and were used chiefly as mounts. When the natives saw the colonists riding horseback, they were impressed with the intimate union of horse and rider, which seemed to them to resemble such a unit as is formed by a mother conveying her child, and they therefore spoke of rider and horse in the dual number. Whatever was predicated of the horse was also predicated of the rider and vice versa. For example, when a man on horseback lets the animal drink at a spring and does not dismount to take a drink himself, the native who witnesses this action will invariably say, "dir momo" = both drink, exactly as he would say it concerning a mother who, carrying her baby, goes to a well and takes a drink in which the baby does not share. Again, when the rider, without dismounting, pauses in a shady place to let his horse graze for a while, the natives will say: "Dir en ra vura" = Both eat the short grass, or "Dir en ra kumai" = Both eat the along-grass. Thus, too, when a missionary sets forth on horseback to go give instruction at some distant place, the natives will ask the rider "Amur a vartovo" = You both will give instruction? And the missionary, respecting the customs and linguistic usage of the people will courteously reply: "Maia, amir a vartovo" = Yes, we two others will give instruction.

the matter with the child's relatives <sup>29</sup> he charged his wife to bring the baby along with her. This she did. Later, when the child began to cry, To Kinkin did not consider it beneath his dignity to give the baby a feeding bottle filled with cow's milk which he had bought from the wife of a colonist. The child began to suck the milk from the bottle and soon stopped crying.

To Tokao visited To Kinkin about that time and the latter showed him the child, the feeding bottle, and some tins of condensed milk. He told To Kakao all about the child and the novel way in which he was rearing it. To Kinkin said:

“A u na bulmakau go. Iau kulkul <sup>30</sup> ia / ta ra mitit <sup>31</sup> ai go ra bul,

<sup>29</sup> We do not know from the text whether the child was disposed of by its father or by its maternal kin, nor do we know what price To Kinkin paid for the child or whether he paid anything at all. But we can be sure that, according to the general principle regulating adoption, the child hailed from the moiety of To Kinkin's wife, for if the child belonged to To Kinkin's own moiety he would not have given it into his wife's charge but would have given it to one of his female kin to rear. In other words, it was really To Kinkin's wife who adopted the child and To Kinkin was only the child's adoptive father.

<sup>30</sup> “kulkul” (trans.) is the total reduplication of the simple verb “kul” (trans.) = buy, purchase, trade. This word plays a great rôle in the business relations which have developed between the whites and the Gumantuna. At first, due to the fact that the Gumantuna did not have foreign coin, business relations were restricted to bartering or trading native products for the goods imported by the whites. Later, when they had come into possession of foreign coin they used money as a medium of exchange for goods bought from the whites. But even then, the chief article of trade remained the coconut which the Gumantuna grow in abundance and trade to the whites or to their appointed Chinese or colored traders for money or for goods. The kernels are taken out of the broken coconuts and dried in the sun. They are then packed in sacks and exported to the home markets under the name of copra, which simply means the dried kernel of the coconut. The oil which the dried kernel of the coconut or the copra yields is used in our countries for the manufacture of coco-butter, oleomargarin, various oils and fats, soap and candles. Hence the product is very valuable and the foremost source of income for the whites and the natives living in the South Sea. “Kulkul” in the above also means that To Kinkin bought condensed milk, chiefly with ripe coconuts. The reduplication indicates that he repeatedly did so.

<sup>31</sup> “a mitit” (noun), a corruption of English Mistress or Mrs. Here the ‘s’ has been changed into ‘t’ for the same reason as given in footnote 28. In this case “a mitit” refers to Mrs. Parkinson, the wife of a colonist who lived in To Kinkin's neighborhood. She was never called by her husband's family name because the Gumantuna found it impossible to pronounce it.

pa ka. I ga tia mat / ika nāna, ma iau ga tia  
na amir ga tia puak pa ia".

of cow here. I buy it / from the mistress / for this  
ov. of-me adoptive child only. She have do die / only mother-  
ave do take-a-fancy-to-it only / and we-two-others have do

e translation: "Here are tins of condensed milk. I buy them  
from Mrs. [Parkinson] for this baby, my adopted child. The mother  
of the baby died. I took a liking to it and told my wife to carry it  
home with us".

The fact that the Gunantuna have so many ways of providing for  
a motherless child may perhaps account for the absence among them  
of the custom of burying alive the orphaned baby with the deceased  
mother. Such a custom is attributed to the Bainij, concerning whom  
Father Leo Brenninkmeyer, M.S.C., in his recent brochure, "15  
Jahre beim Bergvolke der Baininger", Herz-Jesu-Missionshaus, Hil-  
trup bei Muenster i.W., 1928, furnishes new data (p. 45-46).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> "mananē" (transitive verb) = to take a liking or fancy to, be pleased,  
delighted or taken up with, love out of esteem, gratification, admiration, or  
rapture. It is opposed to "māri" (trans.) = to have pity on, commiserate,  
love out of compassion or sympathy. In other words, the Gunantuna use the  
verb "mananē" concerning objects or persons naturally pleasing, charming,  
agreeable, beautiful, or grand, and thus exciting a love or desire of possessing  
them. The verb māri is used regarding persons or objects in a pitiable state,  
and hence arousing pity or compassion.

<sup>33</sup> However, even among the Bainij not every child whose mother dies is  
buried alive with the mother, but only new-born babies whose mothers die  
either at their birth or a short time afterwards. Father Brenninkmeyer tells us  
that in one instance of which he was a witness, the child was only ten days old,  
and in another case, only three weeks old. As we know of no other method of  
doing away with such babies than that indicated by Father Brenninkmeyer, it  
appears that the Bainij consider that entombing an infant with its deceased  
mother is an indirect killing. The Bainij seemingly shrink from a direct killing  
of their own children in much the same way that the Gunantuna do (cf. *Illegiti-  
mate Birth*, loc. cit., 37-42).

### CHAPTER III

#### THE LEGAL STATUS OF A FATHERLESS HALF-ORPHAN

The general principle that the Gumatuna follow in the case of an orphan bereft of its father is that immediately after the funeral rites for the father have been concluded, the child goes with its mother to the mother's former homestead. Neither mother nor child inherits the deceased man's real estate, shell-money, or other property. These go to his own kin, the nephew on his sister's side having first claim. The property is thus kept within the father's moiety.<sup>34</sup>

In an exceptional case a husband may expressly bequeath a piece of land to his wife and children, or for some urgent reason institute his son as his heir. In this event the mother and children will remain on the premises. However, such instances are extremely rare because they run counter not only to the customary law of inheritance, but also to the customary grouping of the settlements wherein normally the married men of the one moiety with their wives and children of the other occupy their own distinct area together.

It frequently happens that a husband makes a present of shell-money to his wife and children before his death. The following text illustrates such an instance:

Pa i mat boko, i lalaun boko / nam ra tutana, i la tabar vue / ke natuna<sup>35</sup> ma ra tabu / ma nam nāna. A loloī, ari a uviana. Ma na ra tutana / pa ta uviana, a ura vinun uka nam, ma a kopo na vinun uka nam.

Not he die yet, he live yet / that the man, he usually present away / merely son-his with the shell-money / and that mother-his. A coil-of-shell-money, if a rich-man. But that the man / not some rich-man, a two ten only one, and a single of ten only another.

Free translation: "Before his death the husband makes a parting present to his son and to the mother of his son. If the husband is

<sup>34</sup> For details, see Meier, *Adoption*, loc. cit., 16-24.

<sup>35</sup> The son is mentioned before the mother to indicate that the shell-money the father has given really belongs to the son and not to the mother, although the latter or her brother will keep it until the son is grown up. A girl, however, will not receive any large present of money from her father. When she marries she may receive a few fathoms from him, however.

... gives them a lot of shell-money containing up to one hundred  
 thousands. If of only moderate means, one may give twenty  
 thousands, another only ten”.

After the death of her husband, the widow leaves with her  
 father her former homestead, she will say:

uva. Pa kaugu<sup>36</sup> ta tutana mulai / ma pa ta tama i  
 ra umana bul; dia tar nat na liq. I na vana na uva  
 pa i na ki mulai / pa pirai<sup>38</sup> avat, a<sup>39</sup> a nāna<sup>39</sup> / vana  
 na uva .

“I already become-widow. Not of-me some husband any-more /  
 and not some father of any-more / that the some child; they already  
 become-young of orphan. I will go as widow away-from / you (pl.),  
 not I will stay any-longer / with you (plural), we-others will mother-  
 and-children / go as widow”.

Free translation: “I am widowed now. I have no husband any  
 more and my children are without a father; they have become little  
 orphans. As a widow I cannot remain with you any longer. It  
 behooves me to leave together with my children”.

After the death of her husband the widow will remain in his settle-  
 ment only as long as the funeral rites are going on. She is supposed  
 to be one of the principal mourners although she does not take a  
 leading part in the ceremonies. She does not arrange for or direct  
 the ceremonies, nor does she defray the expenses connected with

<sup>36</sup> Thus the Gunantuna ordinarily render “I have not”, “I do not possess, or  
 own”, etc.,—by the possessive pronoun and negative particle, without verb.  
 For example, “pa kaugu ta pal” = not of-me some hut (“I have no hut”, or  
 “I own no hut”). The affirmative sense is expressed as follows: “iau, kaugu  
 ta pal” = I, of-me some hut (“I have a hut”). The construction is similar  
 when the designative pronoun is used or the personal pronoun suffixed to a noun.

<sup>37</sup> Here an adverb is abnormally intercalated between preposition and noun.  
 It would be incorrect here to put the adverb after the noun.

<sup>38</sup> “pirai” (preposition) or “pa pirai” in the district of Rakunai means  
 “with” in the sense of German “bei” or French “chez” or “auprès”. The  
 Gunantuna suffix the personal pronoun to this preposition and to a few others,  
 which are then construed in the same way as are nouns denoting the integral  
 part of a whole or expressing relationship, to which likewise the personal  
 pronoun is suffixed.

<sup>39</sup> Another idiomatic construction. In Gunantuna the pronoun is followed  
 immediately by the particle indicating the tense,—here “a”, expressing the  
 future.

them. Apart from any other considerations, her very status prohibits her from assuming such a rôle, as I have explained in my study of Adoption among the Gunantuna (loc. cit., 14).

In connection with the funeral rites her chief duties are to publicly and privately to lament her deceased husband, to sing in a mournful voice if she was truly enamored of him, and to guard his grave, which is not dug in a cemetery but in a hut hastily and hurriedly erected for that purpose on his ancestral homestead. The widow is assisted in these duties by her husband's mother, if she is still alive, by his sisters, and his other female kin.

The day her husband is buried the widow will distribute to some of the women who assist at the funeral (especially her own female kin and friends) a small amount of shell-money, usually the sum which she received from her husband when she married him and which sum she has carried about with her during his lifetime. However, she will be reimbursed for these gifts by either her husband's brother or sister's son, who has conducted the funeral rites.

The time of mourning that the widow must observe may last from a week or fortnight to a month, or even longer depending on the social standing of her husband. If he was a rich man the funeral ceremonies in his honor will be protracted; if a man of ordinary means, the ceremonies will be much shorter. All during the period of mourning the mortuary drum or several of them are beaten, especially at night, to scare away the ghosts and to prevent them from leading the soul of the deceased person to the abode of the dead before the funeral ceremonies are over.

During the mourning period, day and night the widow has her face, head and upper part of her body covered with an oily black paint, as have likewise the other women who assisted at the burial and received the gift of a little string of shell-money. After the final ceremony at which all kinds of food are served in the open, dances take place, and the women perform their last public lamentation, the widow bathes and washes the paint from her body. The time has now come for her to leave for good the settlement where her husband is buried and to return with her children to her relatives' homestead. It is at this juncture that the words of the preceding text are spoken.

These words are equivalent to a farewell to her late husband's relatives and explain to them why she must depart with her children. She says that since she is now a widow there is no reason for

to remain among them any longer. Such a reason existed as long as her husband was alive because it is customary among the Gunantuna that the wife moves, or rather is led, to her husband's home and relatives. Therefore she had stayed with her husband and as every married Gunantuna woman does, although she felt that in doing so she lived among strangers, i.e., people to another moiety than her own. But her husband's bridged the moiety gulf separating her from him and from his relatives, established friendly relations on both sides and helped her to forget that she lived among strangers. Now that her husband is dead she feels the fundamental estrangement that exists between her relatives and herself on account of the different moiety affiliation. Consequently, she wishes to return to those of her own moiety because she is loathe to remain, without any justification, as a stranger among strangers.

Furthermore, she is well aware of the tribal law which regulates association between men and women of opposite moieties and which stipulates that a woman hailing from one moiety shall not live on the property of a man of the other moiety without being married to him or without being his daughter.

She also tells her husband's kin that she will take her children with her since they too, hailing from the other moiety, have no further reason to stay with strangers. None of the husband's relatives, not even his brother, will claim the widow or her children, but will fully approve of her decision. Once the widow leaves her husband's people, usually she will not return, even for a short visit. It is not her duty, but theirs, to pay respect to his bones, and to "guard" them, as the Gunantuna say.

We may note here that there is no record or evidence that suttee was ever practised by the Gunantuna. Nor do we find any trace in the present or from the past of the custom of killing or entombing the wife at the husband's death so that her ghost may accompany his into the other world and provide him there with the same companionship he enjoyed in this world.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Such a custom seems to have obtained in former times among the Bainij, according to Father Brenninkmeyer, loc. cit., 35. Also Father Rascher, "Die Sulka, ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie von Neu-Pommern", Archiv für Anthropologie, 1904, N. F., Bd. I, 215, mentions a similar Bainij custom, at the death of rich men only. Although I lived for four years among the Sulka, I was never told anything to that effect, and yet I repeatedly questioned a very old

The Gunantuna wife never becomes the absolute property of husband so as to entail or even to permit her killing at his death, even though she was "bought" for him. The "purchase" does not connote unlimited ownership as in an ordinary buying. On the contrary when the kin cede, for a monetary consideration, their moiety to a man of the other moiety, they retain do her and, through her, over the children she might bear continues to belong to her own moiety and hence brings to children for the benefit of her own moiety.

The purchase money, tendered by the kin of the husband to those of his wife, stands, first, for our marriage contract insofar as it makes a man and woman lawful husband and wife. By reason of that purchase money the man for whom the woman is bought acquires the sole right to use her sexually and requires that the woman be faithful to him as long as he is alive.

Secondly, from the economic angle, the purchase money is meant as a compensation, paid in advance by the kin of the husband to the kin of the wife, for the labors the wife will perform in her husband's behalf and which he expects from her in justice after the purchase money has been turned over to her relatives. At the same time this payment of the purchase money precludes every claim of the wife to her husband's real-estate, shell-money, goods and chattels and also precludes such a claim on the part of her children, although the husband may make presents to his wife and children. From the economic standpoint the status of the wife among the Gunantuna is much the same as that of a housekeeper among us.

But the husband in no sense has complete dominion over his wife. First, he cannot prevent her from taking refuge with her kin should he grossly maltreat her. Every married woman among the Gunantuna will go to her relatives in such instances and it will require,

man about their funeral ceremonies. He enumerated singly the objects which were placed in the grave of a rich man or a so-called chief, but he never mentioned wives being killed and buried with him. At any rate, if that custom has ever existed among that tribe it had fallen into disuse at the time of my residence. For I assisted personally at the burial of several rich men, but nobody ever spoke or thought of murdering their wives, although the original rites were observed in detail because neither the persons buried nor their relatives were Christians. As for the Bainij, the absence of the moiety-system with its consequent moiety claims on women, and the presence of a family organization entirely different from that of the Sulka and the Gunantuna, may account in part for the killing of the wife at the husband's death.

usually, some bribe money for the husband to persuade her to return to him.

Secondly, the husband cannot resell his wife, not even in case of divorce. That right remains with his wife's kin. If he repudiates her he can only ask back the price which his relatives paid to purchase her for him. Still less can he sell her to someone else before his death, nor can his relatives trade her after his death. The marriage is considered dissolved by death and every right of the husband or his kin over the wife ceases. Not even the purchase money can be claimed back in that case.

Thirdly, the husband does not acquire the power of life and death over his wife. Hence cases of wife-murder, always considered unlawful by the Gunantuna, are extremely rare.

As the rights of the husband over his wife are very limited, so are his rights over the children she bears him, for the father does not exercise absolute rights over his children but only concurs in their affairs. It is the maternal uncle who has the rights over the children that we commonly assign to the father. Therefore, on the father's death none of his relatives, not even his brother, can claim his children. Nor, it may be added parenthetically, can the brother of the deceased man claim the latter's widow. It, as sometimes happens, the surviving brother wishes to take the widow as his own second or third wife, she must be purchased for him anew. The paternal uncle, in spite of the fact that he is called in the classificatory system of relationship the "father" of his brother's children, acquires a right over them only if the mother herself should die soon after the father and if there were no other maternal kin to care for the children. For, according to the matrilineal moiety-organization, not even the father can definitely claim his children and, still less has the paternal uncle a claim over them if the children have close maternal kin to care for them. Hence, at the father's death the children will follow their mother to her homestead and live there with her and her kin.

After returning to her relatives the widow may remain single or, as more frequently happens, especially if she is young and her children are small, she may marry again. If she decides to remain single she will live with her children in the same settlement as her brother, though in a separate hut, and work for him. Her brother will take care of her and provide for her children. The fact that the children are orphans will arouse the pity of the maternal uncle and will in-

crease his love and tenderness for them.<sup>41</sup> If she has no close kin of her own moiety, she will, after her husband's obsequies, go to her own father.

If the widow should marry again, she will take her children with her to the homestead of her new husband who will as "stepfather" help her in rearing them. The Gunantuna terminology is indicated in the following text in which it is assumed that a question has been asked about the father of a boy who happens to be the man's step-child: "Go ra bul / natu i To Ia go?" = This the child / son of Mr. Who this? Someone ignorant of the second marriage of the boy's mother may answer: "Ba natu i To An" = Well son of Mr. A. is, he will mention the present husband of the boy's mother a real father of the boy. But someone else who is better informed will contradict:

"Ni tikai i varpuai ba: 'Nam pa ta natuna; di ga kap tar / ia ka tana. Tamana To An, i tar mat. Ma nam di ga kap tar / ia ka ta nam To An'".

"This one he gainsay namely: 'That not some son-his; one have bring give / him only to-him. Father-his Mr. B, he already die. But that one have bring give / him only to that Mr. A'".

Free translation: "The other contradicts: 'He is not Mr. A's son; his mother has only brought him in marriage to Mr. A. The boy's father is Mr. B [the former husband of the boy's mother] who is dead. Mr. A is the second husband of the boy's mother'".

The above text indicates the difference which the Gunantuna recognize between the stepfather of a child and its real father; the following, the distinction between the stepchild of a man and his true child. In this text the supposition is that inquiry has been made about two boys having different fathers but the same mother, that is, one boy born to her by a previous marriage and the other by her present one.

"Ba nam, di ga kava valuē, di ga kap tar / ia ka ta nam To An, ma nam, di kava vamur ia, nata i tuna<sup>42</sup> nam To An".

<sup>41</sup> If the maternal uncle has children, they and their cross-cousins, his sister's children, would grow up together. Although these cross-cousins belong to opposite moieties, they are assimilated in all respects to brothers and sisters, and immoralities and, still more, marriage between them are forbidden.

<sup>42</sup> We have here again an inversion, namely, "tuna", which qualifies the preceding noun and hence should immediately follow it, is in reality separated from it and placed after the preposition "i". This inversion is due to the fact

“Well that, one have bear previously-him, one have bring give / him only to that Mr. N. [the present husband], but that, one bear subsequently him, son of true that Mr. N.

Free translation “The boy whom the mother bore by a former marriage has only been brought in marriage to Mr. So and So, the present husband; but the other boy, born of her marriage with Mr. So and So, is the latter’s true son”.

A third text indicates the distinction which the children themselves (a man’s stepchild and his true child) make when a stepchild is asked whether or not this man is its true father.

*Di tir nam ra bul, di ga kava valuē*: “U, tamam tuna go To An?”  
*Ma i varpuəi*: “Pata;<sup>43</sup> iau gāki i ga kap tar / iau ka ta na To An”.

One ask that the child, one have bear previously-it: “Thou, father-thine true this Mr. N. [the present husband of the child’s mother]?” And it answer-in-the-negative: “No; I mother (mine) she have bring give / I only to that Mr. N.”

Free translation: Someone asks a child whose father is dead and whose mother has married again: “Is Mr. So and So [the present husband of the child’s mother] your true father?” The child will answer in the negative and say: “No; my mother has only brought me in marriage to Mr. So and So”.

A similar inquiry made of a man’s true child in the case is given in the following text:

*Ma di tir nam ra bul / namur ta nam*: “U, tamam tuna go To An [the same man]?” *Ma i mulaot ba*: “Iau, tamagu tuna To An”.

And one ask that the child / subsequent to the-other: “Thou, father-thine true this Mr. N [the same man]?” And it answer-in-the-affirmative saying: “I, father-mine true Mr. N”.

As is clear from the above texts, in Gunantuna the stepfather is called “the man to whom the child has been brought in marriage”

that the Gunantuna do not want to sever the noun from the preposition which depends on it, but always construe them together, just as they do not like to separate the personal pronoun from the particle, indicating the tense, as we have noted previously.

<sup>43</sup> The negation, “no” is “pata”, lit. “not some” (“pa” = not, “ta” = some). Used as the categorematic negation “pata” is one word; else, two words, viz., when either of its component elements retains separate meaning,—for instance, in the sentence “pa ta tamana” = not some father-his (“he has no father”).

(*di ga kap tar ia tana*); the real father, who has died, "*tamana tuna*". The stepchild is denoted by the same phrase as that used for the stepfather, namely "*di ga kap tar ia tana*", if we interpret it as meaning "the child who has been brought in marriage to a man". Another phrase for stepchild is "*a bul di ga kava valuē*", that is, "a child that a woman has had by her former marriage". The child that such a woman bears to her second husband is referred to as "*a bul di kava vamur ia*". That child is also termed "*natuna tuna*" = child his true, or his true child.<sup>44</sup>

While the evidence advanced shows that the Gunantuna recognize something akin to the relationship that we designate by the terms "stepfather" and "stepchild", they have no parallel to our "step-mother" and "stepchild", as we noted in the previous chapter. Moreover, between Gunantuna "stepfather" and "stepchild" the relationship is not identical with our own since it does not connote "paternal relations" between those two persons. My native authority, To Kakao, denied that the child who is brought in marriage to a man ever calls him father. In To Kakao's words:

*Nam ra bul, di ga kava valuē, tamana To An, i tar mat. Ma vakir i kail "tama" ta nam ra tutana, i ben vakari ra vavina.*

That the child, one have bear previously-it, father-its Mr. N, he already die. And not-in-the-least it say "father (mine)" to that the man, he marry in-his-turn the woman [i.e., the child's mother].

Free translation: "The father of the child a woman has had by a previous marriage, is not the woman's present husband but the late Mr. N, her former husband. As for the present husband, the child will not address him as 'father'".

These texts make it clear that the Gunantuna do not recognize "paternal relations" between what we call a stepfather and stepchild, in the same way that they recognize such between a man and his own child, and between the husband of a woman and the child she adopts and rears either in her own name or in the name of some male relative of hers. Nor does the stepfather in any sense adopt the stepchild. Among the Gunantuna a man will only adopt a child belonging to the same moiety as himself and even then he is not called "father" by the child but "brother". He could be called the "father" of such a child only if his wife had adopted it.

<sup>44</sup>The terminology is the same in case a woman who has small children divorces her husband and marries another man.

There are other differences which show that the case we are considering is entirely dissimilar from that of adoption and which show more clearly why the terminology is unique in each case. For instance, adoption usually occurs right after the birth of a child or a short time later. But the child who is brought in marriage to a man is not a mere infant, for a Gunantuna man will not marry a woman who has a new-born baby and, on the other hand, a widow will not seek another marriage as long as she has an infant to nurse.

The adopted child, being taken in its infancy, will generally be ignorant of its real father and will be kept in ignorance so as to make the adoption more effective. On the other hand, a child who is brought in marriage by its mother to what we call a "stepfather" will already know of the death of its true father and therefore will not consider its mother's second husband a "father" since it is fully aware that it cannot claim him as such.

From all the foregoing it can be seen that the status of a child brought in marriage to a man by his wife will be different from that of the man's own child, even though the children have the same mother. While the man will fulfill the rôle ordinarily assigned to the father toward his own child, he will not assume any obligations toward the child which has been brought to him in marriage. The maternal uncle and the child's mother will have complete charge of such an orphan child. The status of a child whose father has died and whose mother marries again is therefore not essentially different from that of the child whose widowed mother does not contract a new marriage but resides with her brother. In that instance, too, the maternal uncle and the mother will take complete charge of the child.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LEGAL STATUS OF A FULL ORPHAN

In considering the status of a full orphan, I have taken into account four possible cases which I believe to be all-inclusive.

I. (a) A father dies and is buried by his relatives. His widow leaves his homestead, and returns to her own kin, taking their surviving small children with her, but within a short period she, too, dies. (b) A mother dies and the children are turned over to her kin. Shortly after, the father dies.

II. A mother dies and is buried by her husband in his own homestead. Although she has close relatives living, he keeps the children with him. Then, he too dies while the children are still young.

III. A father dies and is interred by his kin. The mother having no close relatives of her own moiety, goes with the children to her own father. Before the children are grown up, the mother dies and is buried by her own father.

IV. The mother dies and is buried by her husband in his own homestead. No close maternal relative survives her, so the father claims the young children. Before they are grown up, he, too, dies.

We assume for our purpose that the above full orphans in all four cases are too young to provide for themselves. We may also assume, since first one parent dies prematurely and, a short time later, the other, that the number of surviving full orphans will be small, usually not more than one or two.

As there were no full orphans living in the district where I resided, I was unable to obtain information from personal observation. Detailed data were gathered however on an earlier case. Further, Father A. Kleintitschen's Collection of the Myths and Tales of the Gumatuna contain several stories concerning full orphans, which, though nursery tales interwoven with supernatural features, throw considerable light on the traditional sentiment of the Gumatuna toward full-orphan children.

The case first mentioned (I) is the normal case as nearly always there are living maternal kin of the orphans, and it is handled ac-

which we have outlined in Chapter II. cared for by their maternal kin, the mother's and are not exposed to special hardships. Of children will grieve for their parents, but, they persons of their own moiety, something for which every Gunantuna longs, and will be assured of fair treatment. The orphan boy will be taken into consideration as heir, or at least will receive some property when a wife is purchased for him. He will not be obliged to remain single, as commonly happens in the case of an illegitimate boy. The orphan girl will have every opportunity to marry, because there is no stigma attached to the status of an orphan. An orphan boy who is reared by his maternal kin will, we may reasonably infer, undergo the puberty-ceremonies prior to marriage and will be initiated into one or all of the secret societies. For even where both parents are alive, it is the maternal uncle's duty, enforced by strong public opinion under the dreaded penalty of incurring public censure and losing respectable status, to see to all this.

In the rare event that there is no near "kinsman" of the full orphans by their mother's side, but only a woman closely related to them and called "their mother" in the classificatory system of relationship, this woman will usually rank with the so-called "propertied women" spoken of in my paper on Adoption (*loc. cit.*, 17-19). That is, in the absence of any grown-up male heir, she will have inherited the ancestral estate. This woman, with her husband, will take care of the orphans as well as of her own children, with regard to puberty-rites, initiation into secret societies, marriage, and so forth. Apart from this, she alone will provide for the orphans and for her own children, without making any distinction between them. The status of the orphans will be exactly the same as if she had "adopted" them. In other words, the orphans will be incorporated into her own family.

The status of full orphans mentioned in the second case (II) will be fundamentally the same as in the first (I). In this second case, the mother dies first; her husband keeps the children; then he, too, dies. The duty of caring for the full orphans devolves upon the relatives of the deceased mother for they are of the same moiety as the children. Moreover, these children anyhow would have gone to their maternal relatives within a few years, even if the father had not died. We can understand, then, that the father's kin, even though they buried him and inherited from him, are not directly interested in his off-

spring, these being of the other moiety. The father will not make any arrangements with the care of the children but will leave that matter to the children's maternal kin.

One of the stories which Father Kleintitschen reports is about two full orphans, a boy and a girl, of our case II type. Some commentary on this very short story is needed to bring out its significance for the current code and actual treatment of full orphans under case II.

After the funeral festivities in honor of the father were concluded, the maternal uncle took his nephew and niece with him to his own settlement, as was his duty. His wife took a strong dislike to the orphan children from the very beginning, perhaps from the normal antipathy existing among the Gunantuna between persons of different moieties. She would not allow the orphans to live in the same hut with her husband and herself, even though her husband, and not she, owned the hut and the ground on which it was built. An old, abandoned shack located in the same settlement and belonging to the maternal uncle, was assigned to the children. With these living arrangements we can understand why the maternal uncle, who was thus taking his meals apart from the children as well as living apart from them, did not realize the manner in which the children were being treated by his wife. She did not beat them. Children are not usually chastised by the Gunantuna, even if they should deserve it. Nor is she charged with neglect to provide them with clothes, toys, or trinkets, which are of little or no concern to a Gunantuna child.

But what every normal adult wants a child to have, and what a child naturally expects from those who bring it up, is decent food. This consists chiefly of vegetables, as among the Gunantuna meat is served only on extraordinary occasions. The woman knew that the only thing that the two orphans were looking for from her and needed, was a substantial meal every day. Hence, if she wished to be cruel to them, she could either curtail their ration of food, or, what is still worse, give them bad food. She chose the latter course.

There is no justification for her action since the food she was supposed to give the two children was not bought with her own money. In fact it was not bought at all but was raised by her husband. Although she assisted her husband in growing the foodstuffs, he claimed them as his exclusive property because he planted them on his ground. Moreover he did the heavy work in the cultivation of

labors she performed in the field had been compared with the sum of shell-money with which she was purchased.

She had therefore no claim to the food which belonged to her husband and was to be used according to his orders.

Moreover, when the husband assigned the food to be eaten each day (as is the right of the Gunantuna husband) he remembered his nephew and niece and increased the amount proportionately. The woman was therefore sure that she would receive her full share and was not being deprived on account of the orphans. Nevertheless the woman determined to misuse her husband's foodstuffs and to defraud

orphans of their share. The fact that she did the cooking for her husband, herself, and the orphans, was favorable to her plan since the food to be prepared for the meal was given to her care. Then, too, she had the distribution of the portions and the bringing of the food to the orphans who lived in the abandoned shack. As their share was wrapped in a banana-leaf no one knew or would think to question the amount or quality of the food. Thus she could conceal her actions from her husband.

The meal was cooked in the evening, the regular time when the Gunantuna partake of their daily substantial repast. The ordinary fare that the Gunantuna eat during a great part of the year and which the woman prepares, consists of cooked greens called "a igit", that is, the leaves of *Abelmoschus*, of bananas (a vudu), plucked before they are entirely ripe and roasted in the open fire, and eddy-roots or tubers of taro (a pā = *Colocasia antiquorum*), done in the same way and scraped clean with the valve of a shell. Moreover, she cooked some secondary corms of that plant, called "a kule na pā", and used by the Gunantuna as food for their domestic animals, especially hogs.<sup>45</sup>

When the meal was prepared the woman apportioned the food,—the larger share was for her and her husband, a smaller portion wrapped up and put aside for the orphans. She then called her husband and both sat down on the ground to take their repast that lay before them on a banana-leaf, which serves as a plate and is renewed every meal. They ate the food by picking it up in their fingers. They ate the tubers of taro in their entirety. They peeled

<sup>45</sup> These secondary tubers or cormlets grow about the main tuber or corm. They are small, extremely acid, and altogether of poor quality. The Gunantuna use them as seedlings to grow new taro-plants, or as feed for the domestic animals. They do not eat them except in times of drought or famine.

#### STATUS OF FULL ORPHAN

the bananas before consuming them, and from the stalks because these latter are too hard to eat. The mainders are usually gathered up as feed for the pigs. When the meal was over the woman collected the remnants, that is, the peels or skins of the bananas and the peduncles of the greens, adding one or two of the inferior kind just mentioned. She then took the ration set aside for the orphans and went away with the two bundles, one seemingly intended for the hogs and the other for the children. But when she arrived at the hut where the children lived, she gave them the package containing the food for the hogs. Unconsciously, she ate the ration which had been intended for the children.

The children did not fare any better on extraordinary occasions when their maternal uncle would have his wife prepare, for example, a chicken for the meal. As the Gunantuna had no cooking utensils such as pots, pans or kettles, the woman baked the chicken, which was wrapped in banana-leaves, in a shallow pit between two layers of small stones previously made white-hot in the fire. Besides the chicken the woman prepared the usual vegetables. When everything was done she seasoned the chicken and vegetables with a delicate sauce prepared from the liquid pressed out of the kernel of coconuts.<sup>46</sup> Then she distributed the meal. She laid aside the ration for the two orphans. The orphans were of course fully aware of the festive repast which their maternal uncle had ordered, and rejoiced in anticipation of their share. But when the woman brought them their supposed share, it was not chicken and good vegetables but only the usual vile food and some bones in addition.

<sup>46</sup> This sauce is the premier Gunantuna contribution to culinary art. In preparing it the women use the valve of a sharp-edged shell to scrape the meat of the coconuts into tiny flakes. The flakes are gathered into a banana-leaf and from them is pressed a milky liquid unlike the "milk" contained in the coconut itself. For a strainer the women use the reticulated, cloth-like texture (a *nirit*) that grows at the base of the cocopalum-fronds. When the fronds have withered they fall off together with this fibrous texture. Originally of a greenish color and of a very tough texture, it has turned grey and lost most of its rigidity by the time the cocopalum-leaf is shed. The Gunantuna tear it away and use it especially as a strainer through which to squeeze the liquid from the coconut flakes. The liquid is collected in a leaf-bowl, and, by means of several white-hot stones fastened singly in a fibre sling and dipped successively into the bowl, is made to thicken into a sticky whitish mass. It is then poured over the cooked meat or vegetables. The sauce has a delicious flavor even according to Western taste.

continued to feed the orphans on the left-overs intended with the evident object of slowly starving the children. This method was considered by the Gunantuna as an indirect way of killing. What made the situation worse for the orphans was that they erroneously supposed their maternal uncle to know of the wrong that was being done to them, and so they did not dare to complain.

The distress the orphans recalled the time when their parents were alive. How well they had fared in those days! How they had been loved by their parents again! Since they could not do that, they wished to go as close as possible to them and to weep on their graves. Thus the children went to the place where their father and mother were buried, either to find help there or to die. The locality was apparently abandoned, and the children could take up their quarters there without being disturbed or chased away by anyone. The maternal uncle noticed the change in the children's place of abode and assumed that they had made the change out of grief for their deceased parents, to which reason he had also attributed the weeping he had occasionally heard from their hut. He did not wish to interfere with the children and told his wife to bring their meals to them in their new living place. She did so, bringing them the same rank food as before.

One day the maternal uncle happened to visit the two orphans and to ask them how they enjoyed their meals. The nephew thought that the uncle was making fun of them and it was more than he could bear. "Friend", he said, very pointedly (and not "uncle" as we would expect), "do not make fun of us. It is easy for you to talk that way; you are well off and do not suffer any hardship. But who takes care of us? As long as our parents lived we too enjoyed life because we were treated well. But now we are faring miserably and experiencing only indignities".

The boy elaborated on the way he and his sister had been treated, and when the uncle at last understood, he began to weep. When he had regained his composure, he left at once to get good food for his nephew and niece. He brought it to them and then returned home to give his wife a sound thrashing because she had acted in such a way towards the two orphans.

Here the story goes on to narrate the interference of a spirit, probably that of the deceased father of the children, who assigned the

orphans a piece of land and miraculously planted<sup>1</sup> for them.

The above story would suggest that full orphans are subjected at times to mistreatment, even where there was a maternal relative to care for them. The tale makes plain that such mistreatment is not approved or condoned by the Gunantuna.

While in the two foregoing cases (I and II) there is a maternal relative to take care of the full orphans, in the two following cases there is none.

In the third case (III) we suppose that on the death of the father his widow, having no close relatives on her side, goes with her children to her own father, and then she too dies.

Father Kleintitschen reports a story (loc. cit., 377) which is seemingly good evidence of the occasional occurrence of cases of the kind among the Gunantuna, and of the treatment of such orphans. The principal characters in the story are two orphan boys. The father dies when the boys are very young. His property and fortune are claimed by his distant kin who also inter him. The mother has no close maternal relatives and, moreover, has not inherited any property from her last kinsman. The real estate of her family has passed into the hands of strangers. She has therefore no place of her own to which she can go and no near relatives to take her and her children in. For the reasons mentioned in the preceding chapter, she cannot remain with her deceased husband's kin because they hail from the other moiety and are strangers to her. As Father Kleintitschen observes in a note, the only course open to her is to go to her father who is a widower and an old man. Although he, too, belongs to the other moiety he is nearer to the widow than anyone else since he is her father. Therefore he will not refuse shelter and food to his daughter and her two boys. However, neither his daughter or his grandchildren can inherit from him as he will be succeeded by his own relatives computed through the female line.

To complicate matters still more, the mother dies a short time after she has taken up her abode with her father. The old man buries her and continues to care for his two grandchildren. Then he too dies and is interred by his kin who claim his property and fortune but are not at all interested in the two orphans, who hail from the other moiety. The orphans thus have no home, no property, no near relatives to feed them and take care of them. At first they remain

in the place where they had lived with their mother's father. No one else lives with them, and the neighbors are in no wise willing to come to their assistance, since the orphans are not their moiety-members but rather strangers or intruders.

The only feeling awakened by the orphans is from the unbearable sight of their emaciated bodies. Hence it is resolved not to help the orphans, but to put them out of their sufferings, so their souls would join the ghosts of their deceased parents and be happy in their company. No attempt is made to murder the orphans directly, by killing them with a spear or club or by strangling them or dashing their heads against a tree, etc., although this could have been done, because the orphans belonged to the other moiety and did not come under the law which only forbids the direct slaughter of one's near bloodkin.

The two boys are carried to a mighty *Canarium indicum* tree and left at its foot between two of its buttress-roots projecting above the surface and forming a kind of niche, to be buried alive. They are covered with leaves, with slats of bamboo, and with stones. Stones are then placed on top of the pile for a double object, first to suffocate the children more quickly, and secondly to prevent wild animals from devouring the victims before or after they had expired.

But the orphans do not die. Whenever someone passes by the tree piteous cries are heard. Even the dull nerves of these people cannot stand this. So it is agreed to take the children out of the heap under which they have been buried and to expose them in the forest where nobody will hear their wailing. The orphans are taken into the woods and placed at the foot of a tree which had been uprooted by the wind. The tree affords some shelter beneath its base which is still supported by part of the roots. There the two children are deposited. It is thought they they would soon either perish of hunger or be eaten by the wild boars.

But the children manage to keep alive. The elder brother still has strength enough to look for wild-growing food, to gather it, and to procure some fire. The younger brother, however, is nearly dead. He has grown very weak and cannot move. The elder brother takes care of him as well as his own condition will allow.

On one of his foraging trips the elder brother is met by a strange man who enters into conversation with him and insists on seeing their abode. On being led thither he is moved to pity at the sight, although, out of delicate consideration, he does not express this for fear of discouraging the boys, but rather expresses satisfaction at their

lodging. He leaves the boys but returns promptly with the most delicious food, sugar canes, ripe bananas roasted in the fire, and jelly-nuts.

At this point we learn that the stranger is not a man but a spirit of the highest order, either the ghost of the departed father or that of their deceased maternal uncle who, indignant at the treatment accorded the boys, has returned from the other world to take care of them.

This story, like the previous one under case II, suggests at least occasional mistreatment of orphans, and implicitly bears witness to Gunantuna condemnation of such mistreatment. But no matter how forsaken orphans may be by man, they are never entirely forsaken by the spirits or ghosts of their deceased kin, who intervene in their behalf.

We turn now to case IV: the mother dies; as she has no close kin the father buries her and also claims the children. Then the father dies, before the children are grown, and is buried by a near relative, for instance, a brother or a nephew by his sister's side.

Father Kleintitschen (*loc. cit.*, 202) relates another story involving such a case and throwing some light on such orphans' treatment. The father's kin took care of his funeral. There were several surviving relatives of the father: a brother, a sister, a maternal nephew, some maternal cousins, and perhaps also the mother.

The deceased man's only child remained with these persons after its father's death, even though they all belonged to a moiety opposite to that of the child. That is why the text designates them as "a umana enana" = the some other ("persons of the other moiety"). There is mention, however, of a male person who took a special interest in the orphan,—probably the brother of the child's father. Undoubtedly, the father, knowing that the child had no close maternal relatives, would have requested his nearest kinsman, before his death, to look out for the child's welfare. Moreover, the father's brother, in his rôle of the child's second father was in duty bound to provide for the child under the circumstances. In any event, Father Kleintitschen's text indicates that the orphan was well cared for.

Nevertheless, the tale includes a ghost who is said to have intervened, the ghost of the child's deceased mother. The Gunantuna believe that a departed mother has an intense craving for the child she has left behind. In this case the ghost of the deceased mother

is said to have come back one morning when the child was alone in the yard, and to have carried it off. However, her husband who lived with her in the other world objected to that early reunion with his child in the realm of the shades, and had the mother bring the child back to the living.

The following story was related to me by my native informant, To Kakao, who testified that it had occurred in "former times". It concerns two boys whose mother died when they were very small. The mother had no kindred by her side and was therefore buried by her husband. The boys remained with their father as there were no maternal relatives to claim them. The father, apparently, was very fond of his children. He did not marry again and concerned himself whenever he had a little leisure in making provisions for his boys in the event that he would die before them. He planted a piece of land with coconut-palms and started a new settlement and assigned it, together with the adjacent tract of land, as their property. This was the only way in which he could secure an economical foothold for them. He also built a hut and lived with the boys in it. Such concern of the father for the future of his children is an extraordinary procedure, suggesting how a father might sometimes circumvent the customary law of inheritance and procure some real estate for his offspring over the head of his kin.

He did not institute his boys as his heirs because such a will would not be respected by his relatives who comprised several nephews by his sister's side and some cousins computed through the female line by his mother's side. His own brother or the boy's "other father" is not mentioned, so we may assume that there was no one on the father's side to enforce any provision that he would make for the protection of the boys.

Moreover, he did not make a gift of shell-money to his two boys before his death as he was afraid that it would be stolen from them. And there was no trustworthy person to whom he could have confided a sum of money with the understanding that it would be given to the boys when they had come of age. In the absence of any guarantee for the protection of his boys in case of his own death, the father saw no use in making such doubtful arrangements.

When, after a lapse of six or seven years, the coconut-palms which he had planted for his boys were already bearing fruit, the father died. He was not interred in his new settlement, but, as is customary,

in his ancestral home and by his kin, who inherited his estate with the exception of the piece of land assigned to his boys.

The two boys were at the time still too young to till the land alone. They remained on the property assigned to them by their father and subsisted on the coconuts growing there. They were entirely neglected by their father's kin whose one object was to drive them away because they belonged to the other moiety. However, even though they regarded the boys as "squatters" they did not dare to drive them away by force from the settlement. For they knew full well that the land had been undeveloped when the boys' father inherited it and that he had planted coconut-palms there only in recent years. This justified him in disposing of the land as he did.

Still less did the paternal kin wish to kill the two orphans, as the consideration which they had for the boys' father who had been their near kinsman, was too great. However, besides neglecting the children, they abused them with their tongues. As the two orphans had no place else to go except at the risk of their lives, since at that time poisoning, killing and cannibalism were prevalent among the tribe, they had to stay in their settlement and put up with the ill treatment accorded them.

One day the orphans were playing on their own land and relishing the coconuts which they had gotten from their trees. Some of their deceased father's relatives saw them and scolded them angrily as if they had done something wrong by plucking the coconuts without asking anyone's permission. In reply to their abuse the elder boy gave vent to the indignation which he had suppressed for a long time, and delivered a cutting piece of oratory. Even those to whom he addressed it could not help but admire the vehemence and skill with which he defended his and his brother's cause, and they reported the incident to others. That is why according to the Gunantuna, the plea of this orphan boy has a place in their tradition. I here report the rest of the story with the boy's speech in text, as To Kakao related it to me:

The paternal relatives rebuke the orphans under the circumstances I have mentioned, asking them in an angry tone: "Ma amur dāve?"<sup>47</sup>  
= "And you-both do-what?"

The elder boy replies in behalf of himself and of his brother:

<sup>47</sup> Here "dāve" is an intransitive verb, "be how, be doing what?" It is also used as an interrogative adverb, "how, why, what?"

1. Pa ta. Amir a ura bul / ma amir libur.<sup>48</sup> Mir <sup>49</sup> a ga <sup>50</sup> tia oe pa <sup>51</sup> / ramamir ta ik a magit? Vakari bo amir yala, mir bo a ura bilinjiran ik ika.

<sup>48</sup> "libur" (intransitive verb) = "take a walk, lounge, be idle", also "play, amuse, divert oneself, get on well with", and finally, "occupy oneself with trifles, work for fun, etc." Its antonym is "papalum" = be busy, do some strenuous work, especially in the field. The word "libur" which corresponds in a general way to our phrases "take it easy, enjoy life, have a good time", plays a great rôle in the language of the Gunantuna and is commonly used when you ask them what they are doing. They will be loathe to reply that they are working hard even if you meet them in the field and see them sweating profusely from their labors. But they will expect you, not to take their "libur" literally, but rather to praise them for their industriousness. When they hold public feasts and give a public address they will, however, boast of the hard labors they perform in the field. The Gunantuna indignantly resent being called "sluggards", and are known to reprove in private their relatives who might happen to idle away their time. It would be entirely amiss to infer from their frequent use of "libur" that they spend their days in idleness, for they are all in all a hard-working people.

<sup>49</sup> An abbreviation of "amir", the exclusive first person, dual: "we two others".

<sup>50</sup> "ga" added to the ordinary particle indicating the future tense, usually expresses that the action will take place "soon" or "without much delay". Here we best translate it by "perhaps".

<sup>51</sup> "oe" (transitive verb) = "make holes in the ground" in which the seedlings or bulbs of banana-plants, the cormels of taros, etc., are set; by extension "raising foodstuffs".

The digging of holes or planting is done with a long, heavy stick, sharpened into a point at one end. The sharpened end is thrust into the ground, and then moved back and forth and sidewise to widen the hole. The Gunantuna call such a stick "a oi" (from the same root as "oe") = "the dibble". It is also used to turn up the ground in order to make the plants grow, particularly in the case of bananas, which thrive best when the ground is broken up.

Only one stick is used to make holes; two, to turn up the soil. The two sticks are manipulated simultaneously, the worker first thrusting one into the ground and then, close by, the other. He then stands between the two sticks, grasps their tops with either hand and presses them in a forward direction into the ground until he has lifted and broken loose a large clump of earth. In this way one row after the other is turned up in a field, and strenuous work it is, carried on in the open under the scorching rays of the tropical sun.

The digging stick is used exclusively by the men of the tribe as it requires a man's strength to manipulate it. As is stated in the text, a boy is not strong enough to do so. The women's work in cultivation consists chiefly in crushing the clumps broken loose by the men and in weeding the field; they use a shorter piece of wood, tapering toward one end and called "a bair". The men

2. Amir bula, mir en ramamir ik a paka na magit / uve amir a tia vabel / i amir ika tana. Go ava tirtir murmur / i amir dāve? Avat, pa ava iaen go ra magit? Avat pa i kankadik / ra urimavat? Amir ika i kapi<sup>52</sup> / ra balaimamir ma avat, pa ava iaen go ra magit?

3. Go bāka avat a vana, avat a tia kap pa / ra tabarikik<sup>53</sup> / ma ba dāt a igir<sup>54</sup> varuru*ai*, ee?<sup>55</sup> Pata; avat a kankan vue / i amir

stand when they handle the dibble; the women kneel on the ground when they work with "a bair".

Since only the men use the dibble and only women "a bair", the Gunantuna regard the one as the symbol of the male sex, the other, of the female sex. This symbolism is carried over into Gunantuna art and language (dibble = phallus = *membrum virile*).

The hoc, the plough and the use of work-animals in gardening were unknown to the Gunantuna and all other tribes of the Bismarek Archipelago. Therefore, the horticulture of these tribes is, properly speaking, a "dibble culture" rather than a "hoe culture". Technologically "dibble culture" is more akin to what we term "spade-husbandry" than to "hoe culture" proper. This is illustrated by the fact that the Gunantuna have substituted for the now discarded digging-sticks, and use, not imported European hoes but spades. The Gunantuna are now well acquainted with the white colonists' hoe, but will not use it, though they have readily accepted the spade.

Among the Gunantuna the greater part of the gardening work,—clearing the ground and dibbling,—falls to the lot of the men. The women's share,—breaking the clods and weeding,—is the lesser one.

<sup>52</sup> "i kapi", followed by a noun in the objective case is an impersonal verb and corresponds somewhat to the German "es gibt" or the French "il y a".

<sup>53</sup> "a tabarikik" (noun), a synonym for "a magit", here meaning "bananas and greens".

<sup>54</sup> "igir" (intransitive verb) = lit., "by means of a white-hot stone to cook greens", that is, the leaves of "a ibika" (*Abelmoschus*), and also to cook other foodstuffs, in this case bananas, since the leaves of "a ibika" are never eaten alone.

The shrub which furnishes the greens is planted by the women who intercrop it in the field which the men have prepared for other crops. Seedlings of cuttings from the stalk of the shrub are put several together to form a cluster, and thrust into the ground. These cuttings or slips grow into new shrubs, each bearing a number of leaves on its top part. The young shoots and tender leaves are pinched off to be used as food, while the old leaves are thrown away because they are tough and bitter and have usually been damaged by the caterpillars.

The Gunantuna women prepare these greens in a variety of ways. When the amount of greens is small they envelope them in a bundle and slip in a white-hot stone specially wrapped so as not to singe them. If the amount of greens to be cooked is large, the big bundle is placed in a pit between two layers of hot stones, and is covered with leaves, branches and earth to keep in the heat.

it. Amir, amamir ta kaina / amir a en  
Amamir ta, tar to pa i amir / nam ramamir oko,<sup>58</sup>  
amamir bulbulit laga.

just as is done when meat of a better quality, such as pork or chicken or fish is cooked. This method of cooking requires about one or two hours, according to the amount to be cooked.

The Gunantuna ordinarily season their greens with either salt water or the milky liquid pressed from the flakes of the coconut kernel. While now it is comparatively easy to obtain salt water for seasonings, formerly it was quite difficult when warlike conditions prevailed and when it was dangerous for the inland population to venture to the coast. Formerly the inland Gunantuna used often to purchase salt water at the market-places or from friendly neighbors nearer the coast. Getting salt from evaporated sea-water was a process unknown to the Gunantuna, though well known to other tribes of the Bismarck Archipelago, such as the Palcava or the Tumuip.

The women (occasionally men) carry the salt water in tube-like receptacles made for them by the men from the stem of the bamboo. The men fell the full-grown stem of a bamboo-cane with its partitioning nodes at regular intervals, cut it into sections, each section containing two joints, and measuring several inches in diameter and three or more feet in length. When the receptacle is filled with salt water through the hole bored in one joint, the hole is effectively plugged with a leaf.

After the greens have been partly cooked, the bundle is opened, the salt water is added, the bundle is closed again, and the cooking process continues. The coconut liquid seasoning may be added either before or immediately after the cooking of the greens.

<sup>55</sup> An exclamatory interrogative demanding an immediate answer. In this case the answer is supposed to be in the negative and is supplied by the boy himself.

<sup>56</sup> "are" (transitive verb) = open or clear the way to or for. In this text it is connected with the preceding verbal construction "avat a kankan vue" = you will hawl away, from which it is separated by the pronoun "amir", the objective case of the exclusive first person dual. That objective case is governed by the transitive verb "vue". The "i" occurring between "vue" and "amir" is merely euphonic. The verb "are" itself governs another accusative. In such a case we would in English use the present participle but to the Gunantuna that form of the verb is unknown. We would express the passage as follows: "You will send us both away with angry words, thereby clearing the way for you to eat your good meal all alone". As is obvious from the text the object which the boys' relatives had in mind was to get the two orphans out of the way. They thereby violated a Gunantuna rule of social conduct, namely, that one must share his meal with those who happen to be present when he partakes of it, whether they were invited or not.

<sup>57</sup> "a kariker" (noun) is a banana, the peel of which has been spoilt by insects and has turned black and the pulp of which has become hard. This happens chiefly to a certain species of banana-plant called "a kalapua".

<sup>58</sup> "a oko" (noun) is a variety of the kalapua-banana. Its pulp contains a



pāpapa<sup>64</sup> ramamir bobo na magit. Gōko dir mat, avat a tatata ruarua<sup>65</sup> utamamir. Pa amir a gala<sup>65</sup> dadāri. Gōko mir a taŋi papa.

6. Amir a vana kan / i avat? Tago amir, mir libur pote<sup>66</sup> avat / ati ta go kamava gunagunan. Mir di<sup>67</sup> ga kokoe / ke ramamir bobo na kulau, ma i ga bura ramamir tāva<sup>68</sup> ati. Ma avat papa āve? A mapi na kapiāke<sup>69</sup> avat. I tabun la ra balaimamir tamavat.

<sup>64</sup> Occasionally, when someone butchers a domestic pig or kills a wild boar the Gunantuna will pay shell-money to purchase the meat, or they will purchase other food. It is to this custom that the boy refers when he says that his parents bought food for him and his brother.

<sup>65</sup> A hypothetical particle, standing for the subordinate clause "if our parents had not died", and here translated best by "else" or "otherwise".

<sup>66</sup> "poto" (transitive verb) = mix, mingle, blend. When followed by an "a" the final "o" in "poto" is changed into "e", as in the above text. Occurs also in compound verbal constructions and must then be translated by "together with", as is the case here.

<sup>67</sup> The person who climbed the trees to secure the jelly-nuts for the two boys is of course their father, for it is always the father who provides his children with such nuts unless he asks someone else to do it for him (cf. *Illeg. Birth*, loc. cit., 52-53).

<sup>68</sup> "a tāva" (noun) ordinarily means "drinking water", but here the drinkable liquid or milk contained in a jelly-nut, called by the Gunantuna "water", not "milk". In the text, "tāva", used in its secondary sense, is preceded by the pronoun "amamir" = for we both, indicating the persons for whom the water of the half-ripe coconut (or, by metonymy, the half-ripe coconut itself) is intended. Jelly-nuts are considered a food as well as a drink, as after the liquid has been consumed the kernel is separated from the shell and eaten. "Tāva" may also denote the waterjar, an indispensable utensil used by the Gunantuna women. It consists of the entire inner shell of a globose, ripe coconut which has been hollowed out by means of a small pointed stick. But "tava" used in this third sense will not be preceded by the designative pronoun indicating the person or persons for whom a thing is intended, but by the possessive pronoun denoting the owner. Thus, "kaugu tāva" = of-me water, that is, "of me water-jar", or "my water-jar", but "agu tāva" = for-me water, that is, "for me drinking water" or "my drinking water", contained in the jar.

<sup>69</sup> This figurative expression is used to insult someone living in a place different from that in which he was born. Such a person is likened by a real native of the place to "the leaf of a breadfruit-tree", which when withered is very light and is carried off by the wind and falls to the ground some distance off.

The insult may be couched in different words but will include the comparison to the leaf of a breadfruit-tree. In a quarrel, for instance, a native of a place will say to another who lives in the same settlement with him but who was not born there: "Iau makati; u a mapi na kapiāka, a kakavizi vut" = I from

7. Kai lia go ra gunan?<sup>70</sup> Kamavat? Pata: mir ke, kamamir ke go. Tamaimamir i ga punaj<sup>71</sup> kapi ia / tamamir ma i ga biti: "Go mur<sup>72</sup> a / tagagan papa, amur a / koe pa / ramamur tāva ik ati. Kamamur go ra gunan. I na mat kan ia, ma kamamur. Ma diat a bobor i amur, amur, mur a kankankan utadiat. Mur a bitbiti dāri:

8. "Ma avat mamave? Kai lia go ra limlibur?<sup>73</sup> Kamavat? Pata ke: mir ke, kamamir vatikai go. Mir, tamaimamir i ga ŋaŋare kapi go tamamir. Tamaimamir i ga tul kapi ia tamamir / uve amir a tagura, amir a kao<sup>74</sup> tana / pa ramamir magit ik"<sup>75</sup>

9. Avat mua mamave? Pa ava kiki mua / ma ra tata otaoto utamamir. Amir la mua, amir taŋtagurane ra tata vorot. Pa amir / ki tavun / mua tavavat. Avat a vana kan i amir!<sup>76</sup> Mir a liŋliŋ vargonogonoŋ / ta go kamamir ik a limlibur.

here; thou a leaf of breadfruit-tree, a wafted come. (Cf. also similar slur at adopted child, Adoption, loc. cit., 82ss).

In the present case the significance of the slur as used by the boy is that the relatives whom he addresses are not natives of the territory in which they are now residing. They were born in other settlements and had come to this territory only when they were grown up and had inherited the property through the female line. Of course the boy does not deny their right to live on the property which they inherited or were assigned but he simply wishes to impress upon them that he and his brother were born on this place while they have come into the territory only through inheritance. Hence, they have no right to drive him and his brother away from the place where they were born.

<sup>70</sup> "go ra gunan" = this the settlement, i.e., the locality where the boys lived.

<sup>71</sup> "a punaj" (transitive verb) = dig in, also bury. In this case means to "plant" because coconuts are planted in a hole "dug" for that purpose.

<sup>72</sup> A shortened form of "amur", second person of the personal pronoun dual, —just as "mir" (mentioned previously) is a shortened form of "amir".

<sup>73</sup> "a limlibur" (noun) = a place newly planted with coconut-palms and with ornamental shrubs. Usually it takes six or seven years for the coconut-palm to produce the first nuts. The Gunantuna enjoy spending their leisure time in newly planted settlements although they do not often dwell there. Hence "a limlibur" (from "libur") = a place where one spends one's pleasure time or takes one's ease. As, however, our two boys lived in the new settlement, they called it their home (gunan).

<sup>74</sup> The intransitive form of "koe" (trans.) = climb.

<sup>75</sup> The father's instruction to the boys was a precautionary measure since he foresaw the opposition of his relatives to the boys possessing the settlement, contrary to the customary matrilineal inheritance (cf. Adoption, loc. cit., 19-20).

<sup>76</sup> Although the boy is only in his teens and realizes that his title to the land is a departure from the customary legal procedure, he has a clear notion of what ownership implies and the right that it gives to expel undesirables or intruders from one's property.

10. Ava tatata vorot mua / utamamir ra ura turana papalai<sup>77</sup> dāve? Amir ti papavua tamavat. Ava va go amir ga loŋ ia? Vakari amir a ura boroi. Amir ŋoŋe<sup>78</sup> rāva? Gari va go amir / limlibur voyon<sup>79</sup> ika go. Ta rāva mua go ava / girgir<sup>80</sup> a taliŋaimamir?

11. Amir ga vatavatoromoi natuna<sup>81</sup> tamavat. Amir mua a ura

<sup>77</sup> "papalai" (adjective) and its synonym "biavi" or "biavui" are terms meant to express or to arouse compassion. The Gunantuna place these two words after the noun qualified.

<sup>78</sup> "ŋoŋe" (transitive verb) is used for a domestic or wild pig that breaks into the fields and roots up the taros or yams planted there. To protect their fields from such animals the Gunantuna erect high strong fences, crossed by humans only by a stile or a similar contrivance. The construction and mending of the fences is the business of the men. There are two kinds of wooden enclosures built to surround the fields. One, called "a roi" consists of a wooden paling, palisade, or stockade made of strong posts, stakes, or trunks of trees set upright in the ground against one another and reenforced on either side by horizontal rows of rods. The other, called "a vaŋan", is made of logs of wood piled one upon another and held in place between pairs of posts stuck into the earth at regular intervals on either side and lashed transversely on their top parts. If there is no enclosure about a field, as sometimes happens when the field is very large, a man (but never a woman) will keep watch, especially at night, to keep the pigs away.

<sup>79</sup> "limlibur voyon" = literally, walk about slowly, gently, or cautiously; figuratively, as used here, = walk about without doing any harm or mischief. By that phrase the boy points out that he and his brother have never committed any act, especially stealing, which would merit a reprimand from their paternal kin. The explanation which the boy gives as to why he and his brother, even though hungry, would not steal food is interesting since it shows that the Gunantuna, observing a bad habit in an animal may condemn a corresponding vice in a man by likening him to the animal (cf. *Illeg. Birth*, loc. cit., 18-19). The boy plainly states that he and his brother are not like pigs who take food where they can get it; that they did not wish to imitate the example of pigs and that they therefore ate only what belonged to them or what was given to them, even though the latter was bad food. They make no mention of fear of punishment as the deterring motive. This text confirms our view that the Gunantuna regard theft as in itself wrong.

<sup>80</sup> "girkir a taliŋa . . ." properly = pick one's ears,—customarily done with a feather or with the bare rib of the pinna of a cocopalm-frond; in the extended sense used here = din into one's ears, or make one's ears ring with. The boy refers to the constant reproaches addressed to him and to his brother.

<sup>81</sup> This sentence means "we both have heard you address us as son or child". According to the Gunantuna classificatory system, not only brothers born of the same mother, but also parallel male cousins whose mothers are sisters, "father" their offspring in common; hence the boys were addressed (at least as

bul mamave? Ava ga ti bul pa / go kamava iyu Bainij<sup>82</sup> āve?  
 Pata: amir la go di ga kalava tamamir / ma di ga doko ko ramamir  
 kakaruk / ma di ga poko ra boroi tamamir / ma di ga varāp uka  
 tamamir.<sup>83</sup> Amir, mir ga ŋala tatar tamavat / upi avat a vulvul  
 vatutuge<sup>84</sup> i amir? Amir va go, amir tia malamālāri ka tamavat.

12. Turuainavat<sup>85</sup> lia? Ava vulvul pa tana<sup>86</sup> lia? Go amir mua

long as their father was alive) as "son" or "child" by their father's parallel male cousins computed through the female line.

<sup>82</sup> A non-seafaring tribe of the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula. Being non-seafaring, speaking a so-called Papuan language, and having a more primitive culture, the Bainij are despised by their neighbors, the Gunantuna, who dwell on or near the sea coast, speak a Melanesian idiom, and are more advanced culturally. Among the Bainij a father, after the birth of his child, does not establish his claim to the child by a special act. Hence the Gunantuna infer that since no one claims the child it may be domineered over by any one who chooses to do so. Thus the Gunantuna regard the Bainij as "born slaves" to be ordered about by other people. In former times the Gunantuna frequently waged war against the Bainij, captured them, and abducted their women and children.

<sup>83</sup> The boy here enumerates the principal customs observed by the Gunantuna after the birth of a child. He reminds his father's kin that all of these customs were performed after he and his brother were born. Hence the paternal kin have no justification in treating them like Bainij. The first custom mentioned by the boy refers to the practice of bringing food, especially greens ("a kalava", a delicious variety of *Abelmoschus*) and chicken ("a kakaruk") to the mother in child-bed. This is done only by those who are related either to the husband or wife, chiefly by the women, and for several days. After that, the father rewards these persons for the services they have rendered to his wife. The midwives, usually women related to the new mother, are especially rewarded. Furthermore, the husband and also the male relatives of the mother, give and slaughter pigs for the feast given on the occasion. The husband distributes shell-money among the midwives and the persons who have taken care of his wife. By this act he claims the child as his own (i kale ra bul mē = he claim the child with it). His wife's kin, in their turn, make a present of shell-money and thus acknowledge him as the child's father. This whole procedure is called "a varāp" = the mutual paying, or "a varpait" = the mutual doing, and establishes the claim of the father and of his wife's male kin to the child. Henceforth they alone are entitled to command the child.

<sup>84</sup> "vatutupa" (transitive verb), or "vatutuge" when followed by an "i", = corner somebody so that he cannot escape or go farther. The intransitive form occurs in the phrase "vana tutupa" = get into a blind-alley. By using this expression, the boy pointed out that his father's kin hurled reproaches at him and his brother whenever they met them and without giving them any chance to turn aside.

<sup>85</sup> "turuā . . ." (noun) properly = a blood-relative or cognate. Its synonym

a ura bul mamave go? Pata kadât kopo na matanoi?<sup>87</sup> Pa avat a

is "niuru . . ." Since the Gunantuna trace blood-relationship only through the female line, this relationship can exist only between persons born of women who belong to the same moiety. In our case the two orphan boys on the one hand and on the other their father's mother's sister's children as well as his sister's children, are members of opposite moieties. Therefore they are not blood-relations or cognates properly speaking. However, the Gunantuna make an exception for cross-cousins, and liken them to "blood-relations" although they hail from different moieties. They call them "a bar nauvana" or "a bar tavuna" = cross-cousins, or, using the classificatory terminology, simply "a bar taina" = brothers and sisters. This latter terminology clearly expresses a kind of "blood-relationship" between cross-cousins, and thus places the same sex limitations upon them as are placed upon brothers and sisters. Cross-cousins are not allowed to marry one another, and any carnal relations between them are regarded as incestuous and, formerly, were punished by death.

<sup>86</sup> A prepositional expression denoting blood-relationship with another. If the Gunantuna wish to discover the near blood-relative of someone, they ask: "Go To An tana lia?" = This Mr. A (is) blood kin to Whom? The answer might be: "Gari tana ka To An" = Why (he is) but a blood kin to Mr. B. Such a blood-relationship, for example, is that between nephew and maternal uncle or that between grandnephew and maternal granduncle. By using the expression "tana" which means "real blood-relationship" the boy refers again to the consanguinity that custom recognizes as existing between cross-cousins, that is, between him and his brother, and their father's sister's children.

<sup>87</sup> "a matanoi" (noun) literally, = the point of dibble (a mata = the point; n [abbreviation of nal = of; oi = dibble); figuratively = the place where persons live together or often meet one another. The exact definition which the Gunantuna give for this term is: "a matanoi a paka na pia di vutvut varuruai tana" = a matanoi (is) a piece of land where one comes together. Among the Gunantuna living on the coast "a matanoi" also denotes "the landing-place for canoes".

Persons related by blood have "a common place of meeting", and if they live near the coast "a common place of debarkation". Hence the expression "to have a common meeting place or landing place" applied to different persons, has come to denote "blood-relationship" between those persons. It is in the latter sense that the boy used the expression in the above text. Since their father's mother's sister's children and his sister's children often met him and his brother on their own property (a common meeting place) they should all consider one another as blood-relatives.

It would look as if the Gunantuna blood relationship construed and the incest taboos operative between cross-cousins may be dynamically and perhaps genetically connected with the fact implicitly noted here by the boy, namely, a sister and her children frequently visit her brother's home, and, in case of divorce or of death of her husband, her children are apt to be reared with her brother's. Thus, cross-cousins, having a "common meeting place" and frequently or regularly eating and associating together, are thus like blood rela-

mal pa tana,<sup>88</sup> pa tana na libur / pa pira'imavat? Pa avat a mal pa / ta liŋ, go pa ava / mal pa i amir? Amir mua a ura boroi / na tutupar?

13. Ka rāva mua go dā libur mala? Mir / ke mua, amir a / vana na tamtabunua?<sup>89</sup> Amir a va<sup>90</sup> ta tia<sup>91</sup> paka na gunan? Amir mua, amir a tia vana irirai, amir a ga tia virua irirai ta tia paka na gunan, ma na arere<sup>92</sup> ra pakainamir.<sup>93</sup> Amir mua di nur mata / na bul<sup>94</sup> tamamir, amir go a ura liŋ vuŋi. Amir a vana irirai, ma da agar<sup>95</sup> i amir.

tions or real brothers and sisters, and so called such. The incest taboos would preclude sex liberties which under such promiscuous mingling might easily develop between the cross-cousins.

<sup>88</sup> Used here as an indefinite numeral meaning "some", and not as the preposition mentioned in footnote 86. "Tana" is an enlarged form of "ta" which has the same meaning.

<sup>89</sup> "vana na tamtabunua" = leave one's home in grief on account of some gross offense or injustice done one by one's own relatives. Since the person offended will not avenge himself by force, there remains for him according to the Gunantuna, only two alternatives,—either to commit suicide or to absent himself from the settlement. Such instances are reported in many of the tribal myths (see e.g., Meier, *Collection of the Myths of the Gunantuna*, Anthropos-Bibliothek, v, i, tale no. 1, p. 94), wherein, as a normal theme, the victim receives compensatory protection from ghosts or spirits.

<sup>90</sup> "va" or "vua" (intransitive verb) = lie, be recumbent, sleep; by extension, abide, dwell. Although intransitive, it may sometimes be construed as transitive, as in the above sentence.

<sup>91</sup> "tia", an indefinite numeral, is commonly followed by a noun in the dual, trial, or plural, while its singular form is "tika na" = one of. Here "tia" is used with a singular substantive, and not "tika na" as the rule would require. Seemingly the exception is made for euphony, because in the regular construction "ta tika na paka na gunan" the two k's would follow so closely.

<sup>92</sup> "arere" (intransitive verb) refers to a corpse which "falls into decomposition, rots, decays", with the secondary meaning, (as in text) it "lies unburied on the ground". Every Gunantuna expects to be "buried" after his death and has a dread of his corpse being left to rot in the open like the carcass of a beast.

<sup>93</sup> "a paka . . ." (noun) = a piece, portion, part, and, when applied to man, his body (the "part" united with his soul).

<sup>94</sup> The sense of the passage is: "Everyone can read our youthful age in our faces and will not stand in fear of us, especially since they all know that we are full orphans and, besides, have no close kin". If, therefore, the boys were to leave their home and ventured to settle in a strange settlement they would be resented by their new neighbors who would find ways to doing away with them. The passage throws light on the insecurity prevalent among the Gunantuna in former times.

<sup>95</sup> "agar" (transitive verb) = dispose of or dispatch by black art. Many

14. Pa dāt a ki mala / ka mna? Go mna pa avat a / māri pa i amir? Dāt a varmāri mēmē avat, ee? Dāve? Ta buy ik pa avat a / vana na ŋaja<sup>96</sup> utamamir? Pa avat a ub<sup>97</sup> i amir? Avat ke<sup>98</sup> Tumu avat a mōiŋe / ke go ra vinarubu, avat a doke<sup>99</sup> amir.

15. Pa amir vue ra vinarubu. Mir va nokari. Pa amir a lōp. Amir tar ki tar i amir. Go avat a mai, avat a ubu kapi amir ta go, ma amir a arere / ta go ra pia.

16. To Ia mulai ta bul mur<sup>100</sup> / ik tamamir, upi na tur bat i amir / ma upi na obe<sup>101</sup> amir? Mir go a ura bul kapeo.<sup>102</sup> Pa ta turuai-mamir.<sup>103</sup> Kamamir tara na ŋalaŋala<sup>104</sup> dia tar mat par. Ma go

things are used in it, but poison plays the main part. Father Kleintitschen treats in detail of this malevolent witchcraft in his Collection of the Myths of the Gunantuna (loc. cit., 162, note 4, 385, note 10).

<sup>96</sup> "vana na ŋaja" = exact the payment of debts contracted or of loans made, call to account for some theft or wrong-doing, punish by resorting to force, and, in general, act in a violent way towards another.

<sup>97</sup> "ub" (transitive verb) = hurt, harm, strike, fight, slay. The regular form is "ubu", final "u" being elided when "i" follows. From "varubu", the intransitive of "ubu", is construed the verbal noun "a vinarubu" (by infixing "in") = fight, combat, warfare, which occurs in the next sentence.

<sup>98</sup> The sense of this passage is: "It rests with you, it is up to you, it is your affair".

<sup>99</sup> "doke" (transitive verb) = put to death, murder, kill. The ordinary form "doko" is changed into "doke", when followed by "a". The Gunantuna have a facility for making euphonic changes.

<sup>100</sup> "a bul mur" (nominal expression) = descendant, issue, posterity. A father will call his child: "kaugu bul mur" = of me descendant. By extension, a man calls his sister's child "a bul mur tagu" = a descendant to me, or a descendant belonging to my moiety. In the above text "bul mur" has this second sense, sister's offspring.

<sup>101</sup> "obe" (regular form, "obo" [cf. footnote 99]; transitive verb) = avenge or vindicate, especially in a case of murder. Revenge of such a crime was a sacred duty incumbent upon the kin of the murdered person. If they neglected this duty, they were despised by everybody. As the passage implies, the moiety as such did not avenge the crime. This was the affair of the near male kin. Failing any close male kin the person murdered remained unavenged. Solidarity of the moiety does not function in this particular case.

<sup>102</sup> "kapeo" (adjective) = alone, sole, single, solitary. It always follows the noun which it qualifies. In the above text it means that the two boys are all alone without any blood-relative.

<sup>103</sup> "turua . . ." is here taken in the strict sense of "a person related by blood". The boy, having previously told his interlocutors that he had no blood descendants, now tells them that he has no living "blood kin" even in the ascending line.

<sup>104</sup> "a tara na ŋalaŋala" (substantive expression) = literally the folk of

mua a ura kinanaj<sup>105</sup> na bul ik / ika go amir. Pa kamamir ta patuana<sup>106</sup> mua ati.

17. Go ava kamkabur<sup>107</sup> tata utamamir, amir a dāve<sup>108</sup> mua go? Mir a mat na varvul? Ma amir tar mat ta na ra ŋeimavat,<sup>109</sup> ava pagur i amir mē. Ba o ra ŋeimavat a enana!

The literal translation of the above text is as follows:

1. Not some. We-both a two boy / and we-both play. We-both shall perhaps do dabble / for-we-both some little the food? Not-in-the-least yet we-both sturdy, we-both yet a two feeble very only.

2. We-both too, we-both eat for-we-both little a piece of food / so that we-both might do invigorate / we-both only with-it. Now you (plural) ask follow / we-both why? You, not you eat this food? You not it pain-from-hunger / the bone(of)-yours? We-both only it have-been-given / a belly-to-we-both and you, not you eat this a food?

3. Now perhaps you will go, you will do fetch / the bananas-and-greens / and perhaps you-and-we-both will cook together, hey? No; you will bawl away / we-both to-make-way-to for-you / some good of food. We both, for-we-both some bad / we-both have-to eat it. For-we-both some banana-as-hard-as-stone; it be good-enough-for we-

elders, then, the elderly relatives computed through the female line, and in a wider sense, the forbears, the ancestors. In this text the phrase must be understood as meaning "elderly relatives of the two boys by their mother's side", all of whom are dead.

<sup>105</sup> "kinanaj" (adjective) = mere, nothing but, bare, sheer, pure, unmixed, unadulterated, empty, etc. The sense here is that the whole maternal lineage to which the orphans belonged had become extinct, only the two boys surviving.

<sup>106</sup> "a patuana" (noun) = an adult male person of advanced age; as here used a synonym of "a ŋala". A Gunantuna will call his maternal grand-uncle either "kaugu patuana" or "kaugu ŋala" = of me elderly relative.

<sup>107</sup> "kamkabur", the partial reduplication of "kabur", is an auxiliary which qualifies a verb. It has a wide range of meaning: "arbitrarily, capriciously, wantonly, at random, indiscriminately; without any foundation, reason, cause, or provocation, for nothing at all; at will, at pleasure, at discretion; at leisure, at ease, carelessly; without ceremony, without more ado, unhesitatingly; without authority, of one's own initiative; at the first opportunity, by the by, casually, perchance".

<sup>108</sup> The sense is: "What do you intend by reprimanding us on every occasion? What in your mind is the ill that shall betide us on that account?"

<sup>109</sup> "a ŋeimavat" = the mouth (of) you, stands of course, for "the angry words your mouth utters".

both / that for-we-both sticky-banana, for-we-both the-banana-used-as-lime-for-catching-flies.

4. You, food-prepared-with-coconut-sauce / you will eat it. You do chase away we-both / and you do drive away we-both / because we-both a two orphan, a two youthful of orphan. We-both note-well, father(of)-we-both and mother(of)-we-both / they-two have treat-well we-both / with for-we-both very-good of food. But since they-two already die both, you dare chase away we-both.

5. We-both forsooth, we-both have be-boys brought-up-well / with for-we-both meat; they two [i.e. the parents] have buy for-we-both very-good of food. Now they-two die, you dare talk harshly to-we-both. Not we-both would else be-thus. Now we-both will weep indeed.

6. We-both shall go away-from / you? But we-both, we-both walk-about together-with you / here in this of-you settlements. We-both one have climb / surely for-we-both delicious of jelly-nut, and it have fall-to-the-ground for-we-both water-of-coconut here. But you from where? A leaf of breadfruit-tree you. It be-angry really the belly(of)-we-both with-you.

7. Of Who this the place? Of-you? No; we-both only, of-we-both only this. Father(of)-we-both he have plant put it / to-we-both and he have say: "When you-both will / be-hungry, you-both shall / climb / for-you-both water-of-coconut little here. Of-you-both this the settlement. I shall die away-from it, and of-you-both. And they will bawl-out you-both, you-both, you-both shall get-angry with-them. You-both shall say thus:

8. "And you from-where? Of Who this the new-settlement? Of-you? Not at-all; we-both only, of-we-both for-ever this. We-both, father(of)-we-both he have assign put this to-we-both. Father (of)-we-both he have order put it to-we-both / so-that we-both will be-hungry, we both might climb in-it / to-get-down for-we-both food little!"

9. You indeed from-where? Not you cease at-all / from the talking angry to-we-both. We-both forsooth altogether, we-both be-weary-of the talking angry. Not we-both / have-peace / at-all with-you. You shall go away-from we-both. We-both will live-retired all-alone / in this of-we-both little the newly-planted-place.

10. You talk angry really / to-we-both the two brother miserable why? We-both do be-left-in-the-dark-about-it by-you. What indeed this we-both have steal it? Not-at-all we-both a two pig. We-both root-up what? Why indeed here we-both / walk-about harmless only

here. For what indeed here you / make-ring the ear(of)-we-both [with your angry words] ?

11. We-both have heard son from-you. We-both indeed a two child from-where? You have do get-as-child / this of-you two Bainig where? No; we-both forsooth this one have bring-greens to-we-both / and one have kill surely fer-we-both chicken / and one have dissect a pig in-honor-of-we-both / and one have lay-claim surely to-we-both. We-both, we-both have grow-up for you / so-that you may scold everywhere we-both? We-both indeed this, we-both do be-made-mis-erable only by-you.

12. Kin-of-you Who? You scold blood-relatives of Who? This we-both really a two boy from-where this? Not of-you-and-we-both one-and-the-same of meeting-place? Not you will treat-well some, not some he-can be-at-ease / with-you? Not you will treat-well / some orphan, since not you / deal-well-with we-both? We-both really a two pig / to-be-thrown-at-with-missiles?

13. Not why really this you-and-we-both get-on well? We-both / rather, we-both shall / go-away in-grief? We-both shall dwell [in] some one portion of land? We-both really, we-both should do go elsewhere, we-both would soon do perish elsewhere [in] some one portion of land, and it-would rot the body(of)-we-both. We-both really one perceive air / of boy in-we-both, we-both this the two orphan altogether. We-both should go elsewhere, and one-would kill-by-witchcraft-and-poison we-both.

14. Not you-and-we-both will stay well / at-last? Now truly not you will / have-pity-on we-both? We-all [i.e. we both] will love-mutually and you, hey? How? Some day little not you will / re-sort-to-violence / against-we-both? Not you will slay we-both? You only. If you should like / but this the fight, you might murder we-both.

15. Not we-both refuse the fight. We-both indeed here. Not we-both will run-away. We-both already stay deliver-up we-both. Now you might come, you might knock down we-both on this, and we-both might putrify / on this the ground.

16. Who again some descendant / little to-we-both, so-that he-will stand defend we-both / or so-that he-will avenge we-both? We-both this a two boy all-alone. Not some kin(of)-we-both. Of-we-both folk of elders they already die all. And this truly a two mere of boy little / only this we-both. Not of-we-both some old-relative really here.

17. Now you at-random talk-gruffly to-we-both, we-both shall become-what-by-it really this? We-both shall die of invective? Indeed we-both already be-sick on-account-of that the mouth(of)-you, you pester we-both with it. Well this the mouth(of)-you a terrible-one!

Although it is well nigh impossible to give an exact translation of the boy's speech, the following free translation may serve to render something of the force and character of Gunantuna oratory as expressed in the native text. While playing on their own land, the two orphan boys were addressed by their deceased father's kin in an angry tone: "What are you doing there?" The older boy answered in his own and his brother's name, as follows:

1. "Nothing. We are only two boys and we are playing. Perhaps you expect us to cultivate the soil and to raise some foodstuffs? But you know full well that we are still too small and weak for that kind of work.

2. "Besides, we are just eating a little food to keep ourselves alive. Do you find fault with that? Is that the reason you harass us with your question? Do you not yourselves eat? Do you not feel the pangs of hunger within you? Are we the only ones to have a stomach, and do you not stand in need of food?"<sup>110</sup>

3. "What did you ever do to appease our hunger? Did you ever fetch some eatables and invite us to share them with you? Hey? Not at all. We have to feed ourselves. You treat us only to hot words and chase us away so that you can partake of your good meal all to yourselves. We have to be satisfied with a lean fare. For us, bananas as hard as a rock, or as viscid as lime and only fit to catch flies with, are good enough.

4. "You let us have these, but you never regale us with a piece of meat. Yet you, yourselves, relish meat and excellent vegetables prepared with coconut-sauce. As for us you chase us away and throw sticks at us as if we were dogs or hogs. That is the pity you have on us two poor orphan boys. Let me tell you, my brother and I are not used to that sort of treatment. Our father and our mother were good to us and reared us on good food. They never begrudged us anything. But after they both died, you dare to treat us like animals.

<sup>110</sup> The two boys had to defend themselves against a double charge: first that of thievery; second, such eating outside of the ordinary mealtime, namely evening, as looked like gourmandizing or over-fondness for delicacies.

5. "We were fondled and brought up not only with vegetables, but also with meat which our parents bought for us. Moreover, they never scolded us. But now they have departed this life, we hear only harsh words from you. Were they both still alive, our lot would be different. We can but shed tears over our misfortune.

6. "You want us to leave? But remember we are natives of the place. We were born here and we have stayed together with you in this section of land when you came for a visit. Our father climbed to get jelly-nuts for us on this place and threw them to the ground so that we might drink their water and eat their tender meat. Where do you come from? You are the strangers here; you are leaves of the breadfruit tree; you were wafted hither by the wind after you were grown up, because you were born elsewhere. My brother and I are angry with you from the bottom of our hearts.

7. "You call us to account because of the coconuts we are eating. I ask you: Who is the owner of this place? You? By no means. We are the owners, we alone. Our father planted for us the coconut-palms that grow here,<sup>111</sup> and he told us: "Whenever you feel hungry, climb some of the coconut-trees. This place belongs to you. In case I should die, I bequeath it to you. If others should contest your claim, get angry at them and ask them:

8. "Where are you from? Whose property is this newly planted settlement? Yours? Not at all. It belongs to us both and it is ours forever. Our father has assigned it to us. He wanted to provide us with a place where we might pluck coconuts whenever we are hungry."

9. "Therefore I ask you as our father told us to do: Where are you from? What right have you to this settlement? And yet you do not cease scolding us. We are tired of your scoldings. We have no peace with you. Get out of here! Let us alone! We want to live to ourselves on this place willed to us by our father.

10. "And besides, tell us what your angry words are all about! We do not know of any reason why you act that way towards us. We are not aware of any guilt on our part. Did we ever steal anything that belongs to you, for instance, some food? But we are not two pigs. Have we ever ravaged your fields? We have always behaved ourselves. Why, then, do you keep dinning your reproaches into our ears?

<sup>111</sup> Property rights over fruit trees are acquired by planting them.

11. "Further, I remind you that you have addressed us as 'son'. Where do you think that you have got these your two sons from? Of what people are we? Do you take us for two Bainij? Oh no; we are not two Bainij. When we were born, they brought greens and chickens to our mother, and our father requited them with a hog which he slaughtered for them and with shell-money which he distributed among them to claim us as his children. You see, we are full-fledged Gunantuna. For you, however, we exist only to be abused on every occasion. You make life truly miserable for us.<sup>112</sup>

12. "And at that are we not you kin? When you scold us, do you not inveigh against two of your relatives? Where have we both come from? Are we strangers? Have we not one and the same meeting place with you? Will you not deal in a friendly way with anybody? Will you not live on good terms with anyone? Will you not tolerate in your midst two orphans, since you treat us like hogs?

13. "Why do you not get on well with us? Will you drive us away by the revolting treatment you accord us? Shall we leave our quarters out of grief and despair and take up our abode somewhere else? But do you not know that it would mean for us certain death if we moved to another place? For we would die of starvation there and be left lying on the ground, and rot like beasts. Or our new neighbors would do away with us simply by sorcery and poison because they would not have the least regard for the life of mere boys who look their youthful age, and, besides, are full orphans.

14. "So I ask you, will you not live in peace with us? Will you have no mercy on us? Will we not love one another? Hey? Or will you evict us by force some day? Or will you kill us? I leave it to you. If you have resolved on the latter course you are welcome to murder us.

15. "We do not refuse death at your hands. We are here and here we stay! We shall not run away. We deliver ourselves up to you. Come on and administer the death-blow to us right here! Our bodies may fall into decay on the very spot where we drop dead.

<sup>112</sup> To catch the full force of this passage one must realize the intense tribal solidarity among the Gunantuna as well as their hostility to aliens. The boy is implicitly charging his relatives with treating him and his brother as they would treat the despised Bainij, and so with being false to their own tribe. In the next paragraph, number 12, is a similar charge implying something like treason to blood kin.

16. "Who will rush to our succor? We have no relative in the descending line to stand by us or to avenge us. We are quite alone. Nor have we any relative in the ascending line. All our grown-up kin are dead. We are the only survivors of our lineage and we are mere boys. We have no adult kinsman who would take up the cudgels for us.

17. "On the other hand, if you do not want to slay us why this continual scolding? What do you intend by it? Shall we die of it? Indeed, it has already made us sick and we cannot longer stand being pestered by you. O, that terrible tongue of yours!"

The persons to whom the boy addressed his impassioned rebuke, did not know what to answer. They denied the charge that they most resented, namely, that they had without reason scolded "blood-relatives" of theirs, as the boy claimed they did. They said:

"Pata go ave kamkibur varvul, pata go avet a umana boy. Pa ave na ilam / ta turuaimavet ik, ave vul ia ka".

Not this we-others at-random scold, not this we-others the some fool. Not we-others see recognize / some blood-kin(of)-we-others little, we-others scold him simply.

Free translation: "It is not true that we scold indiscriminately; it is not true that we act like fools. We know not of any blood-relative of ours whose feelings we should have hurt by hard words".

After that lame denial they left. Their true mortification is disclosed in their remark: "Ai!"<sup>113</sup> Go la ta ra ikilik<sup>114</sup> i yala papa upi ka kavavar! = Ah! This verily some the little / he grow-up somewhat for only the anger! ("Whew, that boy, though only half grown, surely knows how to use his tongue and to lecture others!")

The boy's object in his speech was simply to force his opponents to a decision. That is why he enumerated all the possible courses open to their choice. At the same time, however, he assumed that they would listen to reason, abstain from all extreme measures, and adopt the only sensible policy, namely, to live in harmony with him and his brother who had never done them any harm.

It was indeed the latter effect that he produced. The relatives left the two boys in peace and from that time on assumed a more friendly

<sup>113</sup> An exclamation of wonder or surprise.

<sup>114</sup> "ta ra ikilik" = someone, somebody, this person, that person; literally, "some the little", as if denoting a person of small stature, or a boy or girl, but actually used for adults, in the sense of "person" or "fellow".

and benevolent attitude toward them. The boys continued to care for each other and when they were grown up worked the land bequeathed them by their father, and performed all the tribal ceremonies for each other since they had no near relatives to attend to these matters in their behalf.

Some brief comments may be added on the boy's speech. It is not uncommon for Gunantuna youngsters in their teens to possess a splendid command of their native tongue. Whether we consider the foregoing speech a record of what the boy actually said or of what later tradition has put into his mouth, it illustrates well some of the common characteristics of Gunantuna oratory: clearness, logic, forcefulness, pathos, irony, biting sarcasm. The interrogation is frequently employed. Ornate and bombastic phraseology is absent. Every sentence is concrete, direct, to the point, with no words wasted. The whole speech is illustrative of the intelligence, common sense, mental adroitness, shrewdness, and logic that tends to characterize Gunantuna thinking.

Most of the cultural implications and suppositions of the boy's philippic are either obvious or else have been explained in footnotes to the native text and translation or elsewhere in the present paper. In general the story throws a good deal of indirect light on what the Gunantuna code holds as to the treatment and rights of orphans as well as upon deviations from the code through callousness, greed and other motives. It clearly implies that orphans without kin may at times be badly treated and imposed upon.

## SUMMARY

From our evidence it seems clear that, generally speaking, orphans are well cared for among the Gunantuna. Under the prevalent matrilineal moiety system, it is chiefly the duty of the "close maternal kin" to provide for children bereft either of mother or father or both.

In accordance with this legal principle, a widow with children will leave her husband's homestead after his death and go to her own people who will take care of her and her offspring. The kin of the deceased father have no claim whatsoever on his surviving children. The claim of the mother and her moiety to the children is not lessened even if the mother marries again. A stepfather among the Gunantuna has no rights over his stepchildren, who instead remain under the complete control of their close maternal relatives.

On the same principle, a widower will give his children to the care of their maternal relatives. However, exceptions may be made should the father insist on keeping his children while they are still young; but eventually they must go to their maternal relatives, and indeed, when they are old enough to understand the importance of moiety-affiliation, they will wish to go. Until they have reached the age of puberty they may, by the indulgence of their maternal relatives, remain with their father who will confide them to the care of his mother or his brother and sister-in-law, but not to their stepmother.

Lastly, following the same principle, full orphans will be cared for by their close maternal kin. There is no attempt on the part of the maternal kin to shirk this duty because, according to the tribal law, they have charge of the children under all circumstances. Besides, pity and compassion are felt by these primitive people for a child bereft of one or both of its parents.

The status of the orphan is difficult only when there are no close maternal kin surviving to care for the child. In such a case it is the duty of the father to provide for his child. If the father dies, the duty devolves upon the father's brother, mother, or father. If the father has no remaining kin it would be the duty of the maternal grandfather, if he is living, to care for the orphan. In all these cases the lot of the orphan is tolerable.

But an orphan who has neither close maternal nor paternal kin is likely to have a hard time. The moiety, as such, does not take care of orphans whose close relatives are dead. "Charity" within the tribe seems almost exclusively limited to a rather narrow circle: parents and children, closely related maternal blood kin, and a few of the paternal kin. Beyond this it does not obtain appreciably even among members of the same moiety, and, of course, less still between those of opposite moieties. The myths and other data given in Chapter IV are evidence for this conclusion regarding the lot of the kinless orphan. However, the very way in which the myths have depicted the pitiful plight of orphans left without any close relatives to care for them and to protect them, indicates that the Gunantuna condemn in principle cruelty to or unkind treatment of them. The oppressed orphan is, in the myths, rescued from the oppressor by friendly spirits or ghosts, the Gunantuna being worshippers, not of a Supreme Being, but of the benevolent dead.







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